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THE

PLAYS

OF

WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

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WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

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CONTAINING

PROLEGOMENA, &c.

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AN

ESSAY

ON

THE LEARNING OF SHAKSPEARE.

BY

RICHARD FARMER, D. D.

MASTER OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND PRINCIPAL LIBRARIAN OF THAT UNIVERSITY.

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☞ Though our commentaries on the following Plays have been enriched by numerous extracts from this celebrated Eſſay, the whole of it is here reprinted. I ſhall hazard no contradiction relative to the value of its contents, when I add—

——*proſunt ſingula, juncta juvant.* STEEVENS.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION,

1767.

THE author of the following ESSAY was ſolicitous only for the honour of *Shakſpeare:* he hath however, in *his own* capacity, little reaſon to complain of *occaſional* criticks, or criticks *by profeſſion.* The very FEW, who have been pleaſed to controvert any part of his doctrine, have favoured him with better manners, than arguments; and claim his thanks for a further opportunity of demonſtrating the futility of *theoretick* reaſoning againſt *matter of fact.* It is indeed ſtrange, that any *real* friends of our immortal POET ſhould be ſtill willing to force him into a ſituation, which is not tenable: treat him as a *learned* man, and what ſhall excuſe the moſt groſs violations of hiſtory, chronology, and geography?

Οὐ πείσεις, ἐὰν μὴ πείσῃς, is the motto of every *polemick:* like his brethren at the *amphitheatre,* he, holds it a merit to *die hard*; and will not ſay, *enough,* though the battle be decided. "Were it ſhown, (ſays ſome one) that the old bard borrowed *all* his alluſions from *Engliſh* books then publiſhed, our *Eſſayiſt* might have poſſibly eſtabliſhed his ſyſtem." —In good time!——This had ſcarcely been at-

tempted by *Peter Burman* himſelf, with the library of *Shakſpeare* before him——"Truly, (as Mr. *Dogberry* ſays,) for *mine own* part, if I were as tedious as a king, I could find in my heart to beſtow it all on this ſubject:" but where ſhould I meet with a reader?—When the main pillars are taken away, the whole building falls in courſe: Nothing hath been, or can be, pointed out, which is not eaſily removed; or rather which was not *virtually* removed before: a very little *analogy* will do the buſineſs. I ſhall therefore have no occaſion to trouble myſelf any further; and may venture to call my pamphlet, in the words of a pleaſant declaimer againſt *ſermons on the thirtieth of January*, "an anſwer to every thing that ſhall hereafter be written on the ſubject."

But "this method of reaſoning will prove any one ignorant of the languages, who hath written when tranſlations were extant."——*Shade* of *Burgerſdicius!*—does it follow, becauſe *Shakſpeare's* early life was incompatible with a courſe of education—whoſe contemporaries, friends and foes, nay, and himſelf likewiſe, agree in his want of what is uſually called *literature*—whoſe miſtakes from equivocal tranſlations, and even typographical errors, cannot poſſibly be accounted for otherwiſe,—that *Locke*, to whom not one of theſe circumſtances is applicable, underſtood no *Greek?*—I ſuſpect, *Rollin's* opinion of our philoſopher was not founded on this argument.

Shakſpeare wanted not the ſtilts of languages to raiſe him above all other men. The quotation from *Lilly* in the *Taming of the Shrew*, if indeed it be his, ſtrongly proves the extent of his reading: had he known *Terence*, he would not have quoted erroneouſly from his *Grammar*. Every one hath met with men in common life, who, according to the

language of the *Water-poet*, "got only from *poſsum* to *poſset*," and yet will throw out a line occaſionally from their *Accidence* or their *Cato de Moribus* with tolerable propriety.——If, however, the old editions be truſted in this paſſage, our author's memory ſomewhat failed him in point of *concord*.

The rage of *paralleliſms* is almoſt over, and in truth nothing can be more abſurd. "THIS was ſtolen from *one* claſſick,—THAT from *another*;"—and had I not ſtept into his reſcue, poor *Shakſpeare* had been ſtript as naked of ornament, as when he firſt *held horſes* at the door of the playhouſe.

The late ingenious and modeſt Mr. *Dodſley* declared himſelf

"Untutor'd in the lore of *Greece* or *Rome*."

yet let us take a paſſage at a venture from any of his performances, and a thouſand to one, it is ſtolen. Suppoſe it to be his celebrated compliment to the *ladies*, in one of his earlieſt pieces, *The Toy-ſhop*: "A good wife makes the cares of the world ſit eaſy, and adds a ſweetneſs to its pleaſures; ſhe is a man's beſt companion in proſperity, and his only friend in adverſity; the carefulleſt preſerver of his health, and the kindeſt attendant in his ſickneſs; a faithful adviſer in diſtreſs, a comforter in affliction, and a prudent manager in all his domeſtick affairs." *Plainly*, from a fragment of *Euripides* preſerved by *Stobæus*:

"Γυνὴ γὰρ ἐν κακοῖσι κ᾽ νόσοις πόσει
"Ηδιστόν ἐστι, δῶματ᾽ ἢν οἰκῇ καλῶς,
"Ὀργήν τε παρυνεσα, κ᾽ δυσθυμίας
"Ψυχὴν μεθεῖσα᾽!"——*Par.* 4to. 1623.

Malvolio in the *Twelfth-Night* of Shakſpeare hath

ſome expreſſions very ſimilar to *Alnaſchar* in the *Arabian Tales:* which perhaps may be ſufficient for *ſome* criticks to prove his acquaintance with *Arabic!*

It ſeems, however, at laſt, that "*Taſte* ſhould determine the matter." This, as Bardolph, expreſſes it, is a *word of exceeding good command:* but I am willing, that the ſtandard itſelf be ſomewhat better aſcertained before it be oppoſed to demonſtrative evidence.——Upon the whole, I may conſider myſelf as the *pioneer* of the *commentators:* I have removed a deal of *learned rubbiſh*, and pointed out to them *Shakſpeare's* track in the ever-pleaſing *paths of nature.* This was neceſſarily a previous inquiry; and I hope I may aſſume with ſome confidence, what one of the firſt criticks of the age was pleaſed to declare on reading the former edition, that "The queſtion is *now* for ever decided."

*** I may juſt remark, leſt they be miſtaken for *Errata*, that the word *Catherine* in the 47th page is written, according to the old Orthography for *Catharine*; and that the paſſage in the 50th page is copied from *Upton*, who improperly calls *Horatio* and *Marcellus* in *Hamlet*, "the *Centinels*."

ADVERTISEMENT

PREFIXED TO

THE THIRD EDITION, 1789.

IT may be neceſſary to apologize for the republication of this pamphlet. The fact is, it has been for a good while extremely ſcarce, and ſome mercenary publiſhers were induced by the extravagant price, which it has occaſionally borne, to project a new edition without the conſent of the author.

A few corrections might probably be made, and many additional proofs of the argument have neceſſarily occurred in more than twenty years: ſome of which may be found in the late admirable editions of our Poet, by Mr. *Steevens* and Mr. *Reed*.

But, perhaps enough is already ſaid on ſo light a ſubject:—A ſubject, however, which had for a long time pretty warmly divided the criticks upon *Shakſpeare*.

AN

ESSAY

ON THE

LEARNING OF SHAKSPEARE:

ADDRESSED TO

JOSEPH CRADOCK, ESQ.

"SHAKSPEARE," ſays a brother of the *craft*,[1] "is a vaſt garden of criticiſm:" and certainly no one can be favoured with more weeders *gratis*.

But how often, my dear ſir, are weeds and flowers torn up indiſcriminately?—the ravaged ſpot is replanted in a moment, and a profuſion of critical thorns thrown over it for ſecurity.

"A prudent man, therefore, would not venture his fingers amongſt them."

Be however in little pain for your friend, who regards himſelf ſufficiently to be cautious:—yet he aſſerts with confidence, that no improvement can be expected, whilſt the natural ſoil is miſtaken for a hot-bed, and the natives of the banks of *Avon* are ſcientifically choked with the culture of exoticks.

[1] Mr. Seward, in his Preface to *Beaumont and Fletcher*, 10 Vols. 8vo. 1750.

Thus much for metaphor; it is contrary to the *ſtatute* to fly out ſo early: but who can tell, whether it may not be demonſtrated by ſome critick or other, that a deviation from rule is peculiarly happy in an Eſſay on Shakſpeare!

You have long known my opinion concerning the literary acquiſitions of our immortal dramatiſt; and remember how I congratulated myſelf on my coincidence with the laſt and beſt of his editors. I told you, however, that his *ſmall Latin and leſs Greek*[2] would ſtill be litigated, and you ſee very aſſuredly that I was not miſtaken. The trumpet hath been ſounded againſt "the darling project of repreſenting Shakſpeare as one of the illiterate vulgar;" and indeed to ſo good purpoſe, that I would by all means recommend the performer to the army of the *braying faction*, recorded by Cervantes. The teſtimony of his contemporaries is again diſputed; conſtant tradition is oppoſed by flimſy arguments; and nothing is heard, but confuſion and nonſenſe. One could ſcarcely imagine this a topick very likely to inflame the paſſions: it is aſſerted by Dryden, that "thoſe who accuſe him to have wanted learning, give him the greateſt commendation;" yet an attack upon an article of faith hath been uſually received with more temper and complacence, than the unfortunate opinion which I am about to defend.

But let us previouſly lament with every lover of

[2] This paſſage of Ben Jonſon, ſo often quoted, is given us in the admirable preface to the late edition, with a various reading, "ſmall Latin and *no* Greek," which hath been held up to the publick for a modern ſophiſtication: yet whether an error or not, it was adopted above a century ago by W. Towers, in a panegyrick on Cartwright. His eulogy, with more than fifty others, on this now forgotten poet, was prefixed to the edit. 1651.

Shakſpeare, that the queſtion was not fully diſcuſſed by Mr. Johnſon himſelf: what he ſees intuitively, others muſt arrive at by a ſeries of proofs; and I have not time to *teach* with preciſion: be contented therefore with a few curſory obſervations, as they may happen to ariſe from the chaos of papers, you have ſo often laughed at, "a ſtock ſufficient to ſet up an *editor in form*." I am convinced of the ſtrength of my cauſe, and ſuperior to any little advantage from ſophiſtical arrangements.

General poſitions without proofs will probably have no great weight on either ſide, yet it may not ſeem fair to ſuppreſs them: take them therefore as their authors occur to me, and we will afterward proceed to particulars.

The teſtimony of Ben. ſtands foremoſt; and ſome have held it ſufficient to decide the controverſy: in the warmeſt panegyrick, that ever was written, he apologizes[3] for what *he* ſuppoſed the only defect in his "beloved friend,—

'———————— Soul of the age!
'Th' applauſe! delight! the wonder of our ſtage!'—

whoſe memory he honoured almoſt to idolatry:" and conſcious of the worth of ancient literature, like any other man on the ſame occaſion, he rather carries his acquirements *above*, than *below* the truth. "Jealouſy!" cries Mr. Upton; "people will allow others any qualities, but thoſe upon which they highly value *themſelves*." Yes, where there *is* a competition, and the competitor formidable: but, I think, this critick himſelf hath ſcarcely ſet in oppoſition the learning of Shakſpeare and Jonſon.

3 "*Though* thou hadſt *ſmall Latin*," &c.

When a ſuperiority is univerſally granted, it by no means appears a man's literary intereſt to depreſs the reputation of his antagoniſt.

In truth the received opinion of the pride and malignity of Jonſon, at leaſt in the earlier part of life, is abſolutely groundleſs: at this time ſcarce a play or a poem appeared without Ben's encomium, from the original Shakſpeare to the tranſlator of Du Bartas.

But Jonſon is by no means our only authority. Drayton, the countryman and acquaintance of Shakſpeare, determines his excellence to the *naturall braine*[4] only. Digges, a wit of the town, before our poet left the ſtage, is very ſtrong to the purpoſe,

> " —— Nature only helpt him, for looke thorow
> " This whole book, thou ſhalt find he doth not borow,
> " One phraſe from Greekes, not Latines imitate,
> " Nor once from vulgar languages tranſlate." [5]

Suckling oppoſed his *eaſier ſtrain* to the *ſweat of the learned Jonſon*. Denham aſſures us, that all he had was from *old mother-wit*. *His native wood-notes wild*, every one remembers to be celebrated by Milton. Dryden obſerves prettily enough, that " he wanted not the ſpectacles of books to read nature." He came out of her hand, as ſome one elſe expreſſes it, like *Pallas* out of *Jove's* head, at full growth and mature.

[4] In his *Elegie on Poets and Poeſie*, p. 206. Folio, 1627.

[5] From his *Poem upon Maſter William Shakſpeare*, intended to have been prefixed, with the other of his compoſition, to the folio of 1623: and afterward printed in ſeveral miſcellaneous collections: particularly the ſpurious edition of *Shakſpeare's Poems*, 1640. Some account of him may be met with in Wood's *Athenæ*.

The ever memorable Hales of Eton, (who, notwithſtanding his epithet, is, I fear, almoſt forgotten,) had too great a knowledge both of Shakſpeare and the ancients to allow much acquaintance between them: and urged very juſtly on the part of genius in oppoſition to pedantry, that "if he had not *read* the claſſicks, he had likewiſe not *ſtolen* from them; and if any topick was produced from a poet of antiquity he would undertake to ſhow ſomewhat on the ſame ſubject, at leaſt as well written by Shakſpeare."

Fuller a diligent and equal ſearcher after truth and quibbles, declares poſitively, that "his learning was very little,—*nature* was all the *art* uſed upon him, as *he himſelf*, if alive, would confeſs." And may we not ſay, he did confeſs it, when he apologized for his *untutored lines* to his noble patron the Earl of Southampton?—this liſt of witneſſes might be eaſily enlarged; but I flatter myſelf, I ſhall ſtand in no need of ſuch evidence.

One of the firſt and moſt vehement aſſertors of the learning of Shakſpeare, was the editor of his poems, the well-known Mr. Gildon;[6] and his ſteps

[6] Hence perhaps the *ill-ſtarr'd rage* between this critick and his elder brother, John Dennis, ſo pathetically lamented in the *Dunciad*. Whilſt the former was perſuaded, that "the man who doubts of the learning of Shakſpeare, hath none of his own:" the latter, above regarding the attack in his *private* capacity, declares with great patriotick vehemence, that "he who allows Shakſpeare had learning, and a learning with the ancients, ought to be looked upon as a detractor from the glory of Great Britain." Dennis was expelled his college for attempting to ſtab a man in the dark: Pope would have been glad of this anecdote.*

* *See this fact eſtabliſhed againſt the doubts and objections of Dr. Kippis in the Biographia Britannica, in Dr. Farmer's Letter to me, printed in the European Magazine, June 1794, p. 412.* REED.

were moſt punctually taken by a ſubſequent labourer in the ſame department, Dr. Sewell.

Mr. Pope ſuppoſed, "little ground for the common opinion of his want of learning:" once indeed he made a proper diſtinction between *learning* and *languages*, as I would be underſtood to do in my title-page; but unfortunately he forgot it in the courſe of his diſquiſition, and endeavoured to perſuade himſelf that Shakſpeare's acquaintance with the ancients might be actually proved by the ſame medium as Jonſon's.

Mr. Theobald is "very unwilling to allow him ſo poor a ſcholar, as many have laboured to repreſent him;" and yet is "cautious of declaring too poſitively on the other ſide of the queſtion."

Dr. Warburton hath expoſed the weakneſs of ſome arguments from *ſuſpected* imitations; and yet offers others, which, I doubt not, he could as eaſily have refuted.

Mr. Upton wonders "with what kind of reaſoning any one could be ſo far impoſed upon, as to imagine that Shakſpeare had no learning;" and laſhes with much zeal and ſatisfaction "the pride and pertneſs of dunces, who, under ſuch a name would gladly ſhelter their own idleneſs and ignorance."

He, like the learned knight, at every anomaly in grammar or metre,

> "Hath hard words ready to ſhow why,
> "And tell what *rule* he did it by."

How would the old bard have been aſtoniſhed to have found, that he had very ſkilfully given the *trochaic dimeter brachycatalectic*, COMMONLY called the *ithyphallic* meaſure to the Witches in *Macbeth!* and that now and then a halting verſe afforded

a moſt beautiful inſtance of the *pes proceleuſmaticus!*

"But," continues Mr. Upton, "it was a learned age; Roger Aſcham aſſures us, that Queen Elizabeth read more Greek every day, than ſome *dignitaries* of the church did Latin in a whole week." This appears very probable; and a pleaſant proof it is of the general learning of the times, and of Shakſpeare in particular. I wonder, he did not corroborate it with an extract from her injunctions to her clergy, that "ſuch as were but *mean readers* ſhould peruſe over before, once or twice, the chapters and homilies, to the intent they might read to the better underſtanding of the people."

Dr. Grey declares, that Shakſpeare's knowledge in the Greek and Latin tongues cannot *reaſonably* be called in queſtion. Dr. Dodd ſuppoſes it proved, that he was not ſuch a novice in learning and antiquity as *ſome people* would pretend. And to cloſe the whole, for I ſuſpect you to be tired of quotation, Mr. Whalley, the ingenious editor of Jonſon, hath written a piece expreſsly on this ſide the queſtion: perhaps from a very excuſable partiality, he was willing to draw Shakſpeare from the field of nature to claſſick ground, where alone, he knew, his author could poſſibly cope with him.

Theſe criticks, and many others their coadjutors, have ſuppoſed themſelves able to trace Shakſpeare in the writings of the ancients; and have ſometimes perſuaded us of their own learning, whatever became of their author's. Plagiariſms have been diſcovered in every natural deſcription and every moral ſentiment. Indeed by the kind aſſiſtance of the various *Excerpta*, *Sententiæ*, and *Flores*, this buſineſs may be effected with very little expence of time or ſagacity; as Addiſon hath demonſtrated in

his comment on *Chevy-chaſe*, and Wagſtaff on *Tom Thumb*; and I myſelf will engage to give you quotations from the elder Engliſh writers (for to own the truth, I was once idle enough to collect ſuch,) which ſhall carry with them at leaſt an equal degree of ſimilarity. But there can be no occaſion of waſting any future time in this department: the world is now in poſſeſſion of the *Marks of Imitation*.

"Shakſpeare, however, hath frequent alluſions to the *facts* and *fables* of antiquity." Granted:—and as Mat. Prior ſays, to ſave the effuſion of more Chriſtian ink, I will endeavour to ſhow, how they came to his acquaintance.

It is notorious, that much of his *matter of fact* knowledge is deduced from Plutarch: but in what language he read him, hath yet been the queſtion. Mr. Upton is pretty confident of his ſkill in the original, and corrects accordingly the *errors of his copyiſts* by the Greek ſtandard. Take a few inſtances, which will elucidate this matter ſufficiently.

In the third Act of *Antony and Cleopatra*, Octavius repreſents to his courtiers the imperial pomp of thoſe illuſtrious lovers, and the arrangement of their dominion,

> "———————————— Unto her
> "He gave the 'ſtabliſhment of Egypt, made her
> "Of lower Syria, Cyprus, *Lydia*,
> "Abſolute queen."

Read *Libya*, ſays the critick *authoratively*, as is plain from *Plutarch*,

This is very true: Mr. Heath[7] accedes to the

[7] It is extraordinary, that this gentleman ſhould attempt ſo voluminous a work, as the *Reviſal of Shakſpeare's Text*, when,

correction, and Mr. Johnſon admits it into the text: but turn to the tranſlation, from the French of Amyot, by Thomas North, in folio, 1579,[8] and you will at once ſee the origin of the miſtake.

"Firſt of all he did eſtabliſh Cleopatra queene of Ægypt, of Cyprus, of *Lydia*, and the lower Syria."

Again, in the fourth Act:

" ——————My meſſenger
" He hath whipt with rods, dares me to perſonal combat,
" Cæſar to Antony. Let th' old ruffian know
" I have many other ways to die; mean time
" Laugh at his challenge——."

"What a reply is this?" cries Mr. Upton, "'tis acknowledging he ſhould fall under the unequal combat. But if we read,

' ——————Let the old ruffian know
' *He* hath many other ways to die; mean time
' *I* laugh at his challenge——.'

we have the poignancy and the very repartee of Cæſar in Plutarch."

This correction was firſt made by Sir Thomas Hanmer, and Mr. Johnſon hath received it. Moſt indiſputably it is the ſenſe of Plutarch, and given

[8] he tells us in his Preface, "he was not ſo fortunate as to be furniſhed with either of the *folio* editions, much leſs any of the ancient *quartos:*" and even Sir Thomas Hanmer's performance was known to him only by Mr. Warburton's repreſentation.

[9] I find the character of this work pretty early delineated:
" 'Twas Greek at firſt, that Greek was Latin made,
" That Latin, French; that French to Engliſh ſtraid:
" Thus 'twixt one Plutarch there's more difference,
" Than i'th' ſame Engliſhman return'd from France."

ſo in the modern tranſlation: but Shakſpeare was misled by the ambiguity of the old one: "Antonius ſent again to challenge Cæſar to fight him: Cæſar anſwered, That *he* had many other ways to die, than ſo."

In the third Act of *Julius Cæſar*, Antony, in his well-known harangue to the people, repeats a part of the emperor's will:

> "——To every Roman citizen he gives,
> "To every ſev'ral man, ſeventy-five drachmas.——
> "Moreover he hath left you all his walks,
> "His private arbours, and new-planted orchards,
> "On *this* ſide Tiber——."

"Our author certainly wrote," ſays Mr. Theobald, —"On *that* ſide Tiber—

> 'Trans Tiberim—prope Cæſaris hortos.'

And Plutarch, whom Shakſpeare very diligently ſtudied, expreſsly declares, that he left the publick his gardens and walks, πέραν τοῦ Ποταμοῦ, *beyond* the *Tyber*."

This emendation likewiſe hath been adopted by the ſubſequent editors; but hear again the old tranſlation, where Shakſpeare's *ſtudy* lay: "He bequeathed unto every citizen of Rome ſeventy-five drachmas a man, and he left his gardens and arbours unto the people, which he had on *this* ſide of the river of Tyber." I could furniſh you with many more inſtances, but theſe are as good as a thouſand.

Hence had our author his characteriſtick knowledge of Brutus and Antony, upon which much argumentation for his learning hath been founded: and hence *literatim* the epitaph on Timon, which it was once preſumed, he had corrected from the

blunders of the Latin verſion, by his own ſuperior knowledge of the original.[9]

I cannot, however, omit a paſſage from Mr. Pope: "The *ſpeeches* copied from Plutarch in *Coriolanus* may, I think, be as well made an inſtance of the learning of Shakſpeare, as thoſe copy'd from Cicero in *Catiline*, of Ben Jonſon's." Let us inquire into this matter, and tranſcribe a *ſpeech* for a ſpecimen. Take the famous one of Volumnia:

"Should we be ſilent and not ſpeak, our raiment
"And ſtate of bodies would bewray what life
"We've led ſince thy exile. Think with thyſelf,
"How more unfortunate than all living women
"Are we come hither; ſince thy ſight, which ſhould
"Make our eyes flow with joy, hearts dance with comforts,
"Conſtrains them weep, and ſhake with fear and ſorrow;
"Making the mother, wife, and child to ſee
"The ſon, the huſband, and the father tearing
"His country's bowels out: and to poor we
"Thy enmity's moſt capital; thou barr'ſt us
"Our prayers to the gods, which is a comfort
"That all but we enjoy. For how can we,
"Alas! how can we, for our country pray,
"Whereto we're bound, together with thy victory,
"Whereto we're bound? Alack! or we muſt loſe
"The country, our dear nurſe; or elſe thy perſon,
"Our comfort in the country. We muſt find
"An eminent calamity, though we had
"Our wiſh, which ſide ſhou'd win. For either thou
"Muſt, as a foreign recreant, be led
"With manacles thorough our ſtreets; or elſe
"Triumphantly tread on thy country's ruin,
"And bear the palm, for having bravely ſhed
"Thy wife and children's blood. For myſelf, ſon,
"I purpoſe not to wait on fortune, till
"Theſe wars determine: if I can't perſuade thee
"Rather to ſhow a noble grace to both parts,

[9] See Theobald's Preface to *King Richard II.* 8vo. 1720.

" Than ſeek the end of one; thou ſhalt no ſooner
" March to aſſault thy country, than to tread
" (Truſt to't, thou ſhalt not,) on thy mother's womb,
" That brought thee to this world."

I will now give you the old tranſlation, which ſhall effectually confute Mr. Pope: for our author hath done little more, than thrown the very words of North into blank verſe.

" If we helde our peace (my ſonne) and determined not to ſpeake, the ſtate of our poore bodies, and preſent ſight of our rayment, would eaſely bewray to thee what life we haue led at home, ſince thy exile and abode abroad. But thinke now with thy ſelfe, howe much more unfortunately, then all the women liuinge we are come hether, conſidering that the ſight which ſhould be moſt pleaſaunt to all other to beholde, ſpitefull fortune hath made moſt fearfull to us: making my ſelfe to ſee my ſonne, and my daughter here, her huſband, beſieging the walles of his natiue countrie. So as that which is the only comfort to all other in their adverſitie and miſerie, to pray unto the goddes, and to call to them for aide; is the onely thinge which plongeth us into moſt deepe perplexitie. For we cannot (alas) together pray, both for victorie, for our countrie, and for ſafety of thy life alſo: but a worlde of grievous curſes, yea more than any mortall enemie can heappe uppon us, are forciby wrapt up in our prayers. For the bitter ſoppe of moſt harde choyce is offered thy wife and children, to foregoe the one of the two: either to loſe the perſone of thy ſelfe, or the nurſe of their natiue contrie. For my ſelfe (my ſonne) I am determined not to tarrie, till fortune in my life time doe make an ende of this warre. For if I cannot perſuade thee, rather to doe good unto both parties, then to

ouerthrowe and deſtroye the one, preferring loue and nature before the malice and calamitie of warres: thou ſhalt ſee, my ſonne, and truſt unto it, thou ſhalt no ſoner marche forward to aſſault thy countrie, but thy foote ſhall tread upon thy mother's wombe, that brought thee firſt into this world."

The length of this quotation will be excuſed for its curioſity; and it happily wants not the aſſiſtance of a comment. But matters may not always be ſo eaſily managed:—a plagiariſm from *Anacreon* hath been detected:

> " The ſun's a thief, and with his great attraction
> " Robs the vaſt ſea. The moon's an arrant thief,
> " And her pale fire ſhe ſnatches from the ſun.
> " The ſea's a thief, whoſe liquid ſurge reſolves
> " The moon into ſalt tears. The earth's a thief,
> " That feeds and breeds by a compoſture ſtol'n
> " From gen'ral excrement: each thing's a thief."

" This (ſays Dr. Dodd) is a good deal in the manner of the celebrated *drinking Ode*, too well known to be inſerted." Yet it may be alledged by thoſe, who imagine Shakſpeare to have been generally able to think for himſelf, that the topicks are obvious, and their application is different.—But for argument's ſake, let the parody be granted; and " our author (ſays ſome one) may be puzzled to prove, that there was a Latin tranſlation of Anacreon at the time Shakſpeare wrote his *Timon of Athens*." This challenge is peculiarly unhappy: for I do not at preſent recollect any *other claſsick*, (if indeed, with great deference to Mynheer De Pauw, Anacreon may be numbered amongſt them,) that was *originally* publiſhed with *two* Latin [1] tranſlations.

[1] By Henry Stephens and Alias Andreas, Par. 1554, 4to. ten years before the birth of Shakſpeare. The former verſion hath

But this is not all. Puttenham in his *Arte of Engliſh Poeſie*, 1589, quotes ſome one of a "reaſonable good facilitie in tranſlation, who finding *certaine* of Anacreon's Odes very well tranſlated by Ronſard the French poet—comes our minion, and tranſlates the ſame out of French into Engliſh:" and his ſtrictures upon him evince the publication. Now this identical ode is to be met with in Ronſard! and as his works are in few hands, I will take the liberty of tranſcribing it:

"La terre les eaux va boivant,
"L' arbre la boit par ſa racine,
"La mer ſalee boit le vent,
"Et le ſoleil boit la marine.
"Le ſoleil eſt beu de la lune,
"Tout boit ſoit en haut ou en bas:
"Suivant ceſte reigle commune,
"Pourquoy donc ne boirons-nous pas?"

Edit. Fol. p. 507

I know not whether an obſervation or two relative to our author's acquaintance with Homer, be worth our inveſtigation. The ingenious Mrs. Lenox obſerves on a paſſage of *Troilus and Creſsida*, where Achilles is rouſed to battle by the death of Patroclus, that Shakſpeare muſt *here* have had the *Iliad* in view, as "the old ſtory,[2] which in many places he

been aſcribed without reaſon to John Dorat. Many other tranſlators appeared before the end of the century: and particularly the Ode in queſtion was made popular by Buchanan, whoſe pieces were ſoon to be met with in almoſt every modern language.

[2] It was originally *drawn into Engliſhe* by Caxton under the name of *The Recuyel of the Hiſtoryes of Troy, from the French of the ryght venerable Perſon and worſhipfull man Raoul le Feure, and fynyſſhed in the holy cityye of Colen, the 19 day of Septembre, the yere of our Lord God, a thouſand foure hundred ſixty and enleuen.* Wynkyn de Worde printed an edit. fol. 1503, and there have been ſeveral ſubſequent ones.

hath faithfully copied, is abſolutely ſilent with reſpect to this circumſtance."

And Mr. Upton is poſitive that the *ſweet oblivious antidote*, inquired after by Macbeth, could be nothing but the *nepenthe* deſcribed in the *Odyſſey*,

"Νηπενθὲς τ' ἄχολόν τε, κακῶν ἐπίληθον ἁπάντων."

I will not inſiſt upon the tranſlations by Chapman; as the firſt editions are without date, and it may be difficult to aſcertain the exact time of their publication. But the *former* circumſtance might have been learned from Alexander Barclay;[3] and the *latter* more fully from Spenſer,[4] than from Homer himſelf.

But Shakſpeare" perſiſts Mr. Upton, "hath ſome *Greek expreſſions*." Indeed!—"We have one in *Coriolanus*:

'——————— It is held
'That valour is the chieſeſt virtue, and
'Moſt dignifies the *haver*.'

and another in *Macbeth*, where Banquo addreſſes the *weïrd ſiſters*:

'——————— My noble partner
'You greet with preſent grace, and great prediction
'Of noble *having*.'

[3] "Who liſt thiſtory of Patroclus to reade," &c.
Ship of Fooles, 1570, p. 21.

[4] "Nepenthe is a drinck of ſoueragne grace,
"Deuized by the gods, for to aſſwage
"Harts grief, and bitter gall away to chace—
"Inſtead thereof ſweet peace and quietage
"It doth eſtabliſh in the troubled mynd," &c.
Faerie Queene, 1596, Book IV. c. iii. ſt. 43.

Gr. Ἔχεια.—and πρὸς τὸν Ἔχοντα, to the *haver*."

This was the common language of Shakſpeare's time. "Lye in a water-bearer's houſe!" ſays Maſter Mathew of Bobadil, "a gentleman of his *havings*!"

Thus likewiſe John Davies in his *Pleaſant Deſcant upon Engliſh Proverbs*, printed with his *Scourge of Folly*, about 1612:

"*Do well and have well!*—neyther ſo ſtill:
"For ſome are good *doers*, whoſe *havings* are ill."

and Daniel the hiſtorian uſes it frequently. *Having* ſeems to be ſynonymous with *behaviour* in Gawin Douglas[5] and the elder Scotch writers.

Haver, in the ſenſe of *poſſeſſor*, is every where met with: though unfortunately the πρὸς τὸν Ἔχοντα of Sophocles produced as an authority for it, is ſuſpected by Kuſter,[6] as good a critick in theſe matters, to have abſolutely a different meaning.

But what ſhall we ſay to the learning of the Clown in Hamlet, "Ay, tell me that, that *unyoke*?" alluding to the βλυτὸς of the Greeks; and Homer and his ſcholiaſt are quoted accordingly!

If it be not ſufficient to ſay, with Dr. Warburton, that the phraſe might have been taken from huſbandry, without much depth of reading; we

[5] It is very remarkable, that the biſhop is called by his countryman, Sir David Lindſey, in his *Complaint of our Souerane Lordis Papingo*,

"In *our Inglifche* rethorick the roſe."

And Dunbar hath a ſimilar expreſſion in his beautiful poem of *The Goldin Terge*.

[6] *Ariſtophanis* Comœdiæ undecim. Gr. & Lat. *Amſt.* 1710, Fol. p. 596.

may produce it from a *Dittie* of the workmen of Dover, preſerved in the additions to *Holinſhed*, p. 1546:

" My bow is broke, I would *unyoke*,
" My foot is ſore, I can worke no more."

An expreſſion of my Dame Quickley is next faſtened upon, which you may look for in vain in the modern text; ſhe calls ſome of the pretended fairies in *The Merry Wives of Windſor*:

" —— *Orphan*[7] heirs of fixed Deſtiny."

" And how elegant is this," quoth Mr. Upton, ſuppoſing the word to be uſed, as a Grecian would have uſed it? " ὀρφανὸς ab ὀρφνὸς—acting in darkneſs and obſcurity."

Mr. Heath aſſures us, that the bare mention of ſuch an interpretation, is a ſufficient refutation of it: and his critical word will be rather taken in Greek than in Engliſh: in the ſame hands therefore I will venture to leave all our author's know-

[7] Dr. Warburton corrects *orphan* to *ouphen*; and not without plauſibility, as the word *ouphes* occurs both before and afterward. But I fancy, in acquieſcence to the vulgar doctrine, the addreſs in this line is to a part of the *troop*, as mortals by birth, but adopted by the fairies: *orphans* with reſpect to their *real* parents, and now only dependant on *Deſtiny* herſelf.* A few lines from Spenſer, will ſufficiently illuſtrate the paſſage:

" The man whom *heauens* have *ordayn'd* to bee
" The ſpouſe of *Britomart*, is *Arthegall*:
" He wonneth in the land of *fayeree*,
" Yet is no *fary* borne, ne fib at all
" To elfes, but ſprong of ſeed terreſtriall,
" And whilome by falſe *faries* ſtolen away,
" Whyles yet in infant cradle he did crall," &c.
Edit. 1590, Book III. c. iii. ſt. 26.

ledge of the *old comedy*, and his etymological learning in the word, *Deſdemona*.[8]

Surely poor Mr. Upton was very little acquainted with *fairies*, notwithſtanding his laborious ſtudy of Spenſer. The laſt authentick account of them is from our countryman William Lilly;[9] and it by no means agrees with the *learned* interpretation: for the *angelical creatures* appeared in his *Hurſt* wood in a *moſt illuſtrious glory*,—"and indeed, (ſays the ſage,) it is not given to many perſons to endure their *glorious aſpects*."

The only uſe of tranſcribing theſe things, is to ſhow what abſurdities men for ever run into, when they lay down an hypotheſis, and afterward ſeek for arguments in the ſupport of it. What elſe could induce this man, by no means a bad ſcholar, to doubt whether *Truepenny* might not be derived from Τρύπανον; and quote upon us with much parade an old ſcholiaſt on Ariſtophanes?—I will not ſtop to confute him: nor take any notice of two or three more expreſſions, in which he was pleaſed to ſuppoſe ſome learned meaning or other; all which he might have found in every writer of the time, or ſtill more eaſily in the vulgar tranſlation of the Bible, by conſulting the Concordance of Alexander Cruden.

But whence have we the plot of *Timon*, except from the Greek of Lucian?—The editors and criticks have never been at a greater loſs than in their enquiries of this ſort; and the ſource of a tale hath been often in vain ſought abroad, which might eaſily have been found at home: my good

[8] *Reviſal*, p. 75, 323, and 561.

[9] *Hiſtory of his Life and Times*, p. 102, preſerved by his dupe, Mr. Aſhmole.

friend, the very ingenious editor of the *Reliques of Ancient Engliſh Poetry*, hath ſhown our author to have been ſometimes contented with a legendary *ballad*.

The ſtory of the *miſanthrope* is told in almoſt every collection of the time; and particularly in two books, with which Shakſpeare was intimately acquainted; the *Palace of Pleaſure*, and the *Engliſh Plutarch*. Indeed from a paſſage in an old play, called *Jack Drum's Entertainment*, I conjecture that he had before made his appearance on the ſtage.

Were this a proper place for ſuch a diſquiſition, I could give you many caſes of this kind. We are ſent for inſtance to Cinthio for the plot of *Meaſure for Meaſure*, and Shakſpeare's judgment hath been attacked for ſome deviations from him in the conduct of it: when probably all he knew of the matter was from madam Iſabella in the *Heptameron* of Whetſtone.[1] *Arioſto* is continually quoted for the fable of *Much Ado about Nothing*; but I ſuſpect our poet to have been ſatisfied with the *Geneura* of Turberville.[2] *As you like it* was *certainly borrowed*, if we believe Dr. Grey, and Mr. Upton, from the *Coke's Tale of Gamelyn*; which by the way was not *printed* till a century afterward: when in truth the old bard, who was no hunter of MSS. contented himſelf ſolely with Lodge's *Roſalynd*, or

[1] Lond. 4to. 1582. She *reports* in the fourth dayes exerciſe, the rare *Hiſtorie of Promos and Caſſandra*. A marginal note informs us, that Whetſtone was the author of the *Commedie* on that ſubject; which likewiſe might have fallen into the hands of Shakſpeare.

[2] "The tale is a pretie comicall matter, and hath bin written in Engliſh verſe ſome few years paſt, learnedly and with good grace by M. George Turberuil." Harrington's *Arioſto*, fol. 1591, p. 39.

Euphues' *Golden Legacye*, quarto, 1590. The ſtory of *All's well that ends well*, or, as I ſuppoſe it to have been ſometimes called, *Love's Labour Wonne*,[3] is originally indeed the property of Boccace,[4] but it came immediately to Shakſpeare from Painter's *Giletta of Narbon*.[5] Mr. Langbaine could not conceive, whence the ſtory of *Pericles* could be taken, "not meeting in hiſtory with any ſuch *Prince of Tyre*;" yet his legend may be found at large in old Gower, under the name of *Appolynus*.[6]

Pericles is one of the plays omitted in the latter editions, as well as the early folios, and not improperly; though it was publiſhed many years before the death of Shakſpeare, with his name in the title-page. Aulus Gellius informs us, that ſome plays are aſcribed abſolutely to Plautus, which he only *re-touched* and *poliſhed*; and this is undoubt-

[3] See Meres's *Wits Treaſury*, 1598, p. 282.

[4] Our ancient poets are under greater obligations to Boccace, than is generally imagined. Who would ſuſpect, that Chaucer hath borrowed from an Italian the facetious tale of the *Miller of Trumpington*?

Mr. Dryden obſerves on the epick performance, *Palamon and Arcite*, a poem little inferior in his opinion to the *Iliad* or the *Æneid*, that the name of its author is wholly loſt, and Chaucer is now become the original. But he is miſtaken: this too was the work of Boccace, and printed at Ferrara in folio, *con il commento di Andrea Baſſi*, 1475. I have ſeen a copy of it, and a tranſlation into modern Greek, in the noble library of the very learned and communicative Dr. Aſkew.

It is likewiſe to be met with in old French, under the title of *La Theſeide* de Jean Boccace, contenant les belles & chaſtes amours de deux jeunes Chevaliers Thebains *Arcite & Palemon*.

[5] In the firſt Vol. of the *Palace of Pleaſure*, 4to. 1566.

[6] *Confeſſio Amantis*, printed by T. Berthelet, folio, 1532, p. 175, &c.

edly the caſe with our author likewiſe. The revival of this performance, which Ben Jonſon calls *ſtale* and *mouldy*, was probably his earlieſt attempt in the drama. I know, that another of theſe diſcarded pieces, *The Yorkſhire Tragedy*, hath been frequently called ſo; but moſt certainly it was not written by our poet at all: nor indeed was it printed in his life-time. The fact on which it is built, was perpetrated no ſooner than 1604:[7] much too late for ſo mean a performance from the hand of Shakſpeare.

Sometimes a very little matter detects a forgery. You may remember a play called *The Double Falſhood*, which Mr. Theobald was deſirous of palming upon the world for a poſthumous one of Shakſpeare: and I ſee it is claſſed as ſuch in the laſt edition of the Bodleian catalogue. Mr. Pope himſelf, after all the ſtrictures of Scriblerus,[8] in a letter to Aaron Hill, ſuppoſes it of that age; but a miſtaken accent determines it to have been written ſince the middle of the laſt century:

> " ——————— This late example
> " Of baſe Henriquez, bleeding in me now,
> " From each good *áſpect* takes away my truſt."

[7] " William Caluerly, of Caluerly in Yorkſhire, Eſquire, murdered two of his owne children in his owne houſe, then ſtabde his wife into the body with full intent to haue killed her, and then inſtantlie with like fury went from his houſe, to haue ſlaine his yongeſt childe at nurſe, but was preuented. Hee was preſt to death in Yorke the 5 of Auguſt, 1604." *Edm. Howes' Continuation of John Stowe's Summarie*, 8vo. 1607, p. 574. The ſtory appeared before in a 4to. pamphlet, 1605. It is omitted in the folio chronicle, 1631.

[8] Theſe, however, he aſſures Mr. Hill, were the property of Dr. Arbuthnot.

And in another place,

" You have an *áſpect*, ſir, of wondrous wiſdom."

The word *aſpect*, you perceive, is here accented on the *firſt* ſyllable, which, I am confident, in *any* ſenſe of it, was never the caſe in the time of Shakſpeare; though it may ſometimes appear to be ſo, when we do not obſerve a preceding *eliſion*.[9]

Some of the profeſſed imitators of our old poets have not attended to this and many other *minutiæ*; I could point out to you ſeveral performances in the reſpective ſtyles of Chaucer, Spenſer, Shakſpeare, which the *imitated* bard could not poſſibly have either read or conſtrued.

This very accent has troubled the annotators on Milton. Dr. Bentley obſerves it to be " a *tone* different from the preſent uſe." Mr. Manwaring, in his *Treatiſe of Harmony and Numbers*, very ſolemnly informs us, that " this verſe is defective both in accent and quantity, B. III. v. 266:

' His words here ended, but his meek *aſpéct*
' Silent yet ſpake.——'

Here (ſays he) a ſyllable is *acuted* and *long*, whereas it ſhould be *ſhort* and *graved!*"

And a ſtill more extraordinary gentleman, one Green, who publiſhed a ſpecimen of a *new verſion* of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, into BLANK verſe, " by which

[9] Thus a line in Hamlet's deſcription of the Player, ſhould be printed as in the old folios:

" Tears in his eyes, diſtraction in's aſpéct."

agreeably to the accent in a hundred other places.

that amazing work is brought ſomewhat nearer the ſummit of perfection," begins with correcting a blunder in the fourth Book, v. 540:

" ——————The ſetting ſun
" Slowly deſcended, and with right *aſpéct*—
" Levell'd his evening rays.——"

Not ſo in the *new verſion:*

" Meanwhile the ſetting ſun deſcending ſlow—
" Level'd with *áſpect* right his ev'ning rays."

Enough of ſuch commentators.[1]——The celebrated Dr. Dee had a *ſpirit*, who would ſometimes condeſcend to correct him, when peccant in *quantity:* and it had been kind of him to have a little aſſiſted the *wights* abovementioned.—Milton affected the *antique*; but it may ſeem more extraordinary, that the old accent ſhould be adopted in *Hudibras.*

After all, *The Double Falſhood* is ſuperior to Theobald. One paſſage, and one only in the whole play, he pretended to have written:

" ——————Strike up, my maſters;
" But touch the ſtrings with a religious ſoftneſs:
" Teach ſound to languiſh through the night's dull ear,
" Till melancholy ſtart from her lazy couch,
" And careleſſneſs grow convert to attention."

Theſe lines were particularly admired; and his vanity could not reſiſt the opportunity of claiming them: but his claim had been more eaſily allowed to *any other* part of the performance.

[1] See alſo a wrong accentuation of the word *aſpect* in Mr. Ireland's unmetrical, ungrammatical, harum ſcarum Vortigern, which was damned at Drury Lane theatre, April——1796—the performance of a madman without a lucid interval.

To whom then ſhall we aſcribe it?—Somebody hath told us, who ſhould ſeem to be a *noſtrum-monger* by his argument, that, let *accents* be how they will, it is called *an original play of William Shakſpeare* in the *King's Patent* prefixed to Mr. Theobald's edition, 1728, and conſequently there *could* be no fraud in the matter. Whilſt, on the contrary, the *Iriſh* laureat, Mr. Victor, remarks, (and were it true, it would certainly be deciſive) that the plot is borrowed from a novel of Cervantes, not publiſhed till the year after Shakſpeare's death. But unluckily the ſame novel appears in a part of *Don Quixote*, which was printed in Spaniſh, 1605, and in Engliſh by Shelton, 1612.—The ſame reaſoning however, which exculpated our author from *The Yorkſhire Tragedy*, may be applied on the preſent occaſion.

But you want *my* opinion:—and from every mark of ſtyle and manner, I make no doubt of aſcribing it to Shirley. Mr. Langbaine informs us, that he left ſome plays in MS.—Theſe were written about the time of the *Reſtoration*, when the *accent* in queſtion was more generally altered.

Perhaps the miſtake aroſe from an *abbreviation* of the name. Mr. Dodſley knew not that the tragedy of *Andromana* was Shirley's, from the very ſame cauſe. Thus a whole ſtream of Biographers tells us, that Marſton's plays were printed at London, 1633, "by the care of *William Shakeſpeare*, the famous comedian."—Here again I ſuppoſe, in ſome tranſcript, the real publiſher's name, *William Sheares*, was *abbreviated*. No one hath protracted the life of Shakſpeare beyond 1616, except Mr. Hume; who is pleaſed to add a year to it, in contradiction to all manner of evidence.

Shirley is ſpoken of with contempt in *Mac*

Flecknoe; but his imagination is ſometimes fine to an extraordinary degree. I recollect a paſſage in the fourth Book of the *Paradiſe Loſt*, which hath been ſuſpected of *imitation*, as a *prettineſs* below the genius of Milton: I mean, where *Uriel* glides *backward and forward* to heaven on a *ſun-beam*. Dr. Newton informs us, that this might poſſibly be hinted by a picture of Annibal Caracci in the King of France's cabinet; but I am apt to believe that Milton had been ſtruck with a portrait in Shirley. Fernando, in the comedy of *The Brothers*, 1652, deſcribes Jacinta at *veſpers*:

"Her eye did ſeem to labour with a tear,
"Which ſuddenly took birth, but overweigh'd
"With its own ſwelling, drop'd upon her boſome;
"Which by reflexion of her light, appear'd
"As nature meant her ſorrow for an ornament:
"After, her looks grew chearfull, and I ſaw
"A ſmile ſhoot gracefull upward from her eyes,
"As if they had gain'd a victory o'er grief,
"And with it many *beams* twiſted themſelves,
"Upon whoſe *golden threads the angels* walk
"*To and again from heaven.*[2]——"

You muſt not think me infected with the ſpirit of Lauder, if I give you another of Milton's imitations:

"———The ſwan *with arched neck*
"Between her white wings mantling proudly, rows
"Her ſtate with oary feet." Book VII. v. 438, &c.

[2] Middleton, in an obſcure play called *A Game at Cheſſe*, hath ſome very pleaſing lines on a ſimilar occaſion:

"Upon thoſe lips, the ſweete freſh buds of youth,
"The holy dewe of prayer lies like pearle,
"Dropt from the opening eye-lids of the morne
"Upon the bathfull roſe.——"

"The ancient poets, ſays Mr. Richardſon, have not hit upon this beauty; ſo laviſh have they been in their deſcriptions of the *ſwan*. Homer calls the ſwan *long-necked*, δολιχοδείρον; but how much more *pittoreſque*, if he had *arched* this length of neck?"

For *this beauty*, however, Milton was beholden to Donne; whoſe name, I believe, at preſent is better known than his writings:

"——— Like a ſhip in her full trim,
"A *ſwan*, ſo white that you may unto him
"Compare all whiteneſſe, but himſelfe to none,
"Glided along, and as he glided watch'd,
"And with his *arched neck* this poore fiſh catch'd.—"
Progreſſe of the Soul, ſt. 24.

Thoſe highly finiſhed landſcapes, the *Seaſons*, are indeed copied from nature, but Thomſon ſometimes recollected the hand of his maſter:

"——— The ſtately ſailing ſwan
"Gives out his ſnowy plumage to the gale;
"*And arching proud his neck with oary feet*,
"Bears forward fierce, and guards his oſier iſle,
"Protective of his young.———"

But *to return*, as we ſay on other occaſions.—Perhaps the advocates for Shakſpeare's knowledge of the Latin language may be more ſucceſsful. Mr. Gildon takes the van. "It is plain, that he was acquainted with the fables of antiquity very well: that ſome of the arrows of Cupid are pointed with lead, and others with gold, he found in Ovid; and what he ſpeaks of Dido, in Virgil: nor do I know any tranſlation of theſe poets ſo ancient as Shakſpeare's time." The paſſages on which theſe ſagacious remarks are made, occur in *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*; and exhibit, we

ſee, a clear proof of acquaintance with the Latin claſſicks. But we are not anſwerable for Mr. Gildon's ignorance; he might have been told of Caxton and Douglas, of Surrey and Stanyhurſt, of Phaer and Twyne, of Fleming and Golding, of Turberville and Churchyard! but theſe fables were eaſily known without the help of either the originals or the tranſlations. The fate of Dido had been ſung very early by Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate; Marlowe had even already introduced her to the ſtage: and Cupid's arrows appear with their characteriſtick differences in Surrey, in Sidney, in Spenſer, and every ſonnetteer of the time. Nay, their very names were exhibited long before in *The Romaunt of the Roſe:* a work, you may venture to look into, notwithſtanding Maſter Prynne hath ſo poſitively aſſured us, on the word of John Gerſon, that the author is moſt certainly damned, if he did not care for a ſerious repentance.[3]

Mr. Whalley argues in the ſame manner, and with the ſame ſucceſs. He thinks a paſſage in *The Tempeſt,*

[3] Had our zealous puritan been acquainted with the real crime of De Mehun, he would not have joined in the clamour againſt him. Poor Jehan, it ſeems, had raiſed the expectations of a monaſtery in France, by the legacy of a great cheſt, and the weighty contents of it; but it proved to be filled with nothing better than *vetches.* The friars enraged at the ridicule and diſappointment, would not ſuffer him to have chriſtian burial. See the Hon. Mr. Barrington's very learned and curious *Obſervations on the Statutes,* 4to. 1766, p. 24. From the *Annales d' Aquitaine. Par.* 1537.

Our author had his full ſhare in diſtreſſing the ſpirit of this reſtleſs man. "Some Play-books are grown from *Quarto* into *Folio*; which yet bear ſo good a price and ſale, that I cannot but with griefe relate it.—*Shackſpeer's Plaies* are printed in the beſt Crowne-paper, far better than moſt *Bibles!*"

" ——————— High queen of ſtate,
" Great Juno comes; I know her by her *gait*."

a remarkable inſtance of Shakſpeare's knowledge of ancient poetick ſtory; and that the hint was furniſhed by the *divûm incedo regina* of Virgil.[4]

You know, honeſt John Taylor, the *Water-poet*, declares that *he never learned his Accidence*, and that *Latin and French* were to him *Heathen-Greek*; yet by the help of Mr. Whalley's argument, I will prove him a *learned* man, in ſpite of every thing, he may ſay to the contrary: for thus he makes a *gallant* addreſs his *lady*:

" Moſt ineſtimable magazine of beauty——in whom *the port and majeſty of Juno*, the wiſdom of Jove's braine-bred girle, and the feature of Cytherea,[5] have their domeſtical habitation."

In *The Merchant of Venice*, we have an oath " By

[4] Others would give up this paſſage for the *vera inceſſu patuit dea*; but I am not able to ſee any improvement in the matter: even ſuppoſing the poet had been ſpeaking of Juno, and no previous tranſlation were extant.

[5] This paſſage recalls to my memory a very extraordinary fact. A few years ago, at a great court on the continent, a countryman of ours of high rank and character, [Sir C. H. W.] exhibited with many other candidates his complimental epigram on the birth day, and carried the prize in triumph:

" O Regina orbis prima & pulcherrima: ridens
" Es Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens."

Literally ſtolen from *Angerianus*:

" Tres quondam nudas vidit Priameius heros
" Luce deas; video tres quoque luce deas.
" Hoc majus; tres uno in corpore: *Cœlia ridens*
" *Eſt Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens*."

Delitiæ Ital. Poet. by Gruter, under the anagrammatic name of *Ranutius Gherus*, 1608, V. I. p. 189.

Perhaps the *latter part* of the epigram was met with in a whimſical book, which had its day of fame, *Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy*, fol. 1652, 6th edit. p. 520.

two-headed Janus;" and here, ſays Dr. Warburton, Shakſpeare ſhows his knowledge in the antique: and ſo again does the *Water-poet*, who deſcribes Fortune,

" Like a *Janus* with a *double face*."

But Shakſpeare hath ſomewhere a *Latin motto*, quoth Dr. Sewell; and ſo hath John Taylor, and a whole poem upon it into the bargain.

You perceive, my dear ſir, how vague and indeterminate ſuch arguments muſt be: for in fact this *ſweet ſwan of Thames*, as Mr. Pope calls him, hath more ſcraps of Latin, and alluſions to antiquity than are any where to be met with in the writings of Shakſpeare. I am ſorry to trouble you with trifles, yet what muſt be done, when grave men inſiſt upon them?

It ſhould ſeem to be the opinion of ſome modern criticks, that the perſonages of claſſick land begun only to be known in England in the time of Shakſpeare; or rather, that he particularly had the honour of introducing them to the notice of his countrymen.

For inſtance,—*Rumour painted full of tongues*, gives us a prologue to one of the parts of *Henry the Fourth*; and, ſays Dr. Dodd, Shakſpeare had doubtleſs a view to either Virgil or Ovid in their deſcription of Fame.

But why ſo? Stephen Hawes, in his *Paſtime of Pleaſure* had long before exhibited her in the ſame manner,

" A goodly lady envyroned about
" With *tongues* of fyre.——"[6]

[6] Cap. 1. 4to. 1555.

and ſo had Sir Thomas More in one of his *Pageants*:[7]

> " *Fame* I am called, mervayle you nothing
> " Though with *tonges* I am compaſſed all rounde."

not to mention her elaborate portrait by Chaucer, in *The Boke of Fame*; and by John Higgins, one of the aſſiſtants in *The Mirrour for Magiſtrates*, in his Legend of King Albanacte.

A very liberal writer on the *Beauties of Poetry*, who had been more converſant in the ancient literature of other countries, than his own, " cannot but wonder, that a poet, whoſe claſſical images are compoſed of the fineſt parts, and breathe the very ſpirit of ancient mythology, ſhould paſs for being illiterate:

> " See, what a grace was ſeated on this brow!
> " Hyperion's curls: the front of Jove himſelf:
> " An eye like Mars to threaten and command:
> " A ſtation like the herald Mercury,
> " New lighted on a heaven-kiſſing hill." *Hamlet.*

Illiterate is an ambiguous term: the queſtion is, whether poetick hiſtory could be only known by an adept in *languages*. It is no reflection on this ingenious gentleman, when I ſay, that I uſe on this occaſion the words of a *better* critick, who yet was not willing to carry the *illiteracy* of our poet *too far*:—" They who are in ſuch aſtoniſhment at the *learning* of Shakſpeare, forget that the pagan imagery was familiar to all the poets of his time; and that abundance of this ſort of learning was to be picked up from almoſt every Engliſh book, that

[7] Amongſt " the things, which Mayſter More wrote in his youth for his paſtime," prefixed to his *Workes*, 1557, Fol.

he could take into his hands." For not to inſiſt upon Stephen Bateman's *Golden Booke of the Leaden Goddes*, 1577, and ſeveral other laborious compilations on the ſubject, all this and much more mythology might as perfectly have been learned from the *Teſtament of Creſeide*,[8] and the *Fairy Queen*,[9] as from a regular Pantheon or Polymetis himſelf.

Mr. Upton, not contented with *heathen* learning, when he finds it in the text, muſt neceſſarily ſuperadd it, when it appears to be wanting; becauſe Shakſpeare moſt certainly hath loſt it by accident!

In *Much Ado about Nothing*, Don Pedro ſays of the inſenſible Benedict, "He hath twice or thrice cut Cupid's bow-ſtring, and the little *hangman* dare not ſhoot at him."

This mythology is not recollected in the ancients, and therefore the critick hath no doubt but his author wrote—"*Henchman,—a page, puſio:* and *this* word ſeeming too hard for the printer, he tranſlated the little urchin into a *hangman*, a character no way belonging to him."

But this character was not borrowed from the ancients;—it came from the *Arcadia* of Sir Philip Sidney:

> "Millions of yeares this old drivell Cupid lives;
> "While ſtill more wretch, more wicked he doth prove:
> "Till now at length that Jove an office gives,
> "(At Juno's ſuite who much did Argus love)
> "In this our world a *hangman* for to be
> "Of all thoſe fooles that will have all they ſee."
>
> B. II. c. 14.

[8] Printed amongſt the works of Chaucer, but really written by *Robert Henderſon*, or *Henryſon*, according to other authorities.

[9] It is obſervable that *Hyperion* is uſed by Spenſer with the ſame error in *quantity*.

I know it may be objected on the authority of ſuch biographers as Theophilus Cibber, and the writer of the Life of Sir Philip, prefixed to the modern editions; that the *Arcadia* was not publiſhed before 1613, and conſequently too late for this imitation: but I have a copy in my own poſſeſſion, printed for W. Ponſonbie, 1590, 4to. which hath eſcaped the notice of the induſtrious Ames, and the reſt of our typographical antiquaries.

Thus likewiſe every word of antiquity is to be cut down to the claſſical ſtandard.

In a note on the Prologue to *Troilus and Creſsida*, (which, by the way, is not met with in the *quarto*,) Mr. Theobald informs us, that the very *names* of the gates of Troy, have been barbarouſly demoliſhed by the editors: and a deal of learned duſt he makes in ſetting them right again; much however to Mr. Heath's ſatisfaction. Indeed the learning is modeſtly withdrawn from the later editions, and we are quietly inſtructed to read,

" Dardan, and Thymbria, Ilia, Scæa, Troian,
" And Antenorides."

But had he looked into the *Troy boke* of Lydgate, inſtead of puzzling himſelf with Dares Phrygius, he would have found the horrid demolition to have been neither the work of Shakſpeare nor his editors:

" Therto his eyte | compaſſed enuyrowne
" Hadde gates VI to entre into the towne:
" The firſt of all | and ſtrengeſt eke with all,
" Largeſt alſo | and moſte pryncypall,
" Of myghty byldyng | alone pereleſs,
" Was by the kynge called | Dardanydes;
" And in florye | lyke as it is founde,
" Tymbria | was named the ſeconde;

" And the thyrde | called Helyas,
" The fourthe gate | hyghte alſo Cetheas;
" The fyfthe Trojana | the ſyxth Anthonydes,
" Stronge and myghty | both in werre and pes."[1]
Lond. empr. by R. Pynſon, 1513, fol. B. II. ch. xi.

Our excellent friend Mr. Hurd hath borne a noble

[1] The *Troy Boke* was ſomewhat modernized, and reduced into regular ſtanzas, about the beginning of the laſt century, under the name of " *The Life and Death of Hector*—who fought a hundred mayne Battailes in open Field againſt the Grecians; wherein there were ſlaine on both Sides *Fourteene Hundred and Sixe Thouſand Fourſcore and Sixe Men.*" Fol. no date. This work, Dr. Fuller and ſeveral other criticks, have erroneouſly quoted as the *original*; and obſerve in conſequence, that " if Chaucer's *coin* were of *greater weight* for *deeper learning*, Lydgate's were of a more *refined ſtandard* for *purer language*: ſo that one might miſtake him for a modern writer!"

Let me here make an obſervation for the benefit of the next editor of Chaucer. Mr. Urry, probably misled by his predeceſſor, Speght, was determined, *Procruſtes-like*, to *force* every line in *The Canterbury Tales* to the ſame ſtandard: but a preciſe number of ſyllables was not the object of our old poets. Lydgate, after the example of his maſter, very fairly acknowledges,

" Well wot I | moche thing is wronge,
" Falſely metryd | both of ſhort and longe."

and Chaucer himſelf was perſuaded, that the *rime* might poſſibly be

" ——————— Somewhat agreable,
" Though ſome verſe faile in a ſyllable."

In ſhort, the attention was directed to the *cæſural pauſe*, as the *grammarians* call it; which is carefully *marked* in every line of Lydgate: and Gaſcoigne in his *Certayne Notes of Inſtruction concerning the making of Verſe*, obſerves very truly of Chaucer, " Whoſoeuer do peruſe and well conſider his workes, he ſhall find, that although his lines are not always of one ſelfe ſame number of ſyllables, yet beyng redde by one that hath underſtanding, the longeſt verſe and that which hath moſt ſyllables in it, will fall to the eare correſpondent unto that which hath feweſt ſyllables in it: and likewiſe that whiche hath in it feweſt ſyllables ſhall be found yet to conſiſt of wordes that hath ſuche naturall ſounde, as may ſeeme equall in length to a verſe which hath many moe ſyllables of lighter accents." 4to. 1575.

teſtimony on our ſide of the queſtion. "Shakſpeare," ſays this true critick, "owed the felicity of freedom from the bondage of claſſical ſuperſtition, to the *want* of what is called the *advantage* of a learned education.—This, as well as a vaſt ſuperiority of genius, hath contributed to lift this aſtoniſhing man to the glory of being eſteemed the moſt original *thinker* and *ſpeaker*, ſince the times of Homer." And hence indiſputably the amazing variety of ſtyle and manner, unknown to all other writers: an argument of *itſelf* ſufficient to emancipate Shakſpeare from the ſuppoſition of a *claſsical training*. Yet, to be honeſt, *one* imitation is *faſtened* on our poet: which hath been inſiſted upon likewiſe by Mr. Upton and Mr. Whalley. You remember it in the famous ſpeech of Claudio in *Meaſure for Meaſure:*

"Ay, but to die and go we know not where!" &c.

Moſt certainly the ideas of "a ſpirit bathing in fiery floods," of reſiding "in thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice," or of being "impriſoned in the viewleſs winds," are not *original* in our author; but I am not ſure, that they came from the *Platonick hell* of Virgil.[2] The monks alſo had their hot and their cold hell: "The fyrſte is fyre that ever brenneth, and never gyveth lighte," ſays an old homily:[3]—"The ſeconde is paſſyng colde, that yf a grete hylle of fyre were caſten therin, it ſholde

[2] "——————Aliæ panduntur inanes
"Suſpenſæ ad ventos: aliis ſub gurgite vaſto
"Infectum eluitur ſcelus, aut exuritur igni."

[3] At the ende of the *feſtyuall* drawen oute of *Legenda aurea*, 4to. 1508. It was firſt printed by Caxton, 1483, "in helpe of ſuch clerkes who excuſe theym for defaute of bokes, and alſo by ſymplenes of coinynge."

torn to yce." One of their legends, well remembered in the time of Shakſpeare, gives us a dialogue between a biſhop and a ſoul tormented in a piece of ice, which was brought to cure *a grete brenning heate* in his foot :[4] take care you do not interpret this the *gout*, for I remember Mr. Menage quotes a *canon* upon us :

" Si quis dixerit epiſcopum PODAGRA laborare, anathema, ſit."

Another tells us of the ſoul of a monk faſtened to a rock, which the winds were to blow about for a twelvemonth, and purge of its enormities. Indeed this doctrine was before now introduced into poetick fiction, as you may ſee in a poem " where the lover declareth his pains to exceed far the pains of hell," among the many miſcellaneous ones ſubjoined to the works of Surrey. Nay, a very learned and inquiſitive Brother-Antiquary, our Greek Profeſſor,[5] hath obſerved to me on the authority of Bleſkenius, that this was the ancient opinion of the inhabitants of Iceland ;[6] who were certainly very little read either in the *poet* or the *philoſopher*.

After all, Shakſpeare's curioſity might lead him to *tranſlations*. Gawin Douglas really changes the *Platonick hell* into the " punytion of ſaulis in purgatory :" and it is obſervable, that when the Ghoſt informs Hamlet of his doom there,

" Till the foul crimes done in his days of nature
" Are *burnt and purg'd away*.——"

the expreſſion is very ſimilar to the biſhop's: I will

[4] *On all ſoules daye*, p. 152.

[5] Mr. afterwards Dr. Lort.

[6] *Iſlandiæ* Deſcript. *Ludg. Bat.* 1607, p. 46.

give you his verſion as conciſely as I can; "It is a nedeſul thyng to ſuffer panis and torment—ſum in the wyndis, ſum under the watter, and in the fire uthir ſum:—thus the mony vices—

> 'Contrakkit in the corpis be *done away*
> 'And purgit.——" *Sivte Booke of Eneados*, fol. p. 191.

It ſeems, however, "that Shakſpeare *himſelf* in *The Tempeſt* hath tranſlated ſome expreſſions of *Virgil:* witneſs the *O dea certe.*" I preſume, we are here directed to the paſſage, where Ferdinand ſays of Miranda, after hearing the ſongs of Ariel,

> "——Moſt ſure, the goddeſs
> "On whom theſe airs attend."

and ſo *very ſmall Latin* is ſufficient for this formidable tranſlation, that if it be thought any honour to our poet, I am loath to deprive him of it; but his honour is not built on ſuch a ſandy foundation. Let us turn to a *real tranſlator*, and examine whether the idea might not be fully comprehended by an Engliſh reader; *ſuppoſing* it neceſſarily borrowed from Virgil. Hexameters in our own language are almoſt forgotten; we will quote therefore this time from Stanyhurſt:

> "O to thee, fayre virgin, what terme may rightly be fitted?
> "Thy tongue, thy viſage no mortal frayltie reſembleth.
> "——*No doubt, a godeſſe!*" Edit. 1583.

Gabriel Harvey deſired only to be "*epitaph'd*, the inventor of the Engliſh *hexameter*," and for a while every one would be *halting on Roman feet*; but the ridicule of our fellow-collegian Hall, in one of his Satires, and the reaſoning of Daniel, in his

Defence of Rhyme againſt Campion, preſently reduced us to our original Gothick.

But to come nearer the purpoſe, what will you ſay, if I can ſhow you, that Shakſpeare, when, in the favourite phraſe, he had a Latin poet *in his eye*, moſt aſſuredly made uſe of a tranſlation?

Proſpero, in *The Tempeſt*, begins the addreſs to his attendant *ſpirits*,

> " Ye elves of hills, of ſtanding lakes, and groves."

This ſpeech, Dr. Warburton rightly obſerves to be borrowed from Medea in Ovid: and " it proves," ſays Mr. Holt,[7] " beyond contradiction, that Shakſpeare was perfectly acquainted with the ſentiments of the ancients on the ſubject of inchantments." The original lines are theſe:

> " Auræque, & venti, monteſque, amneſque, lacuſque,
> " Diique omnes nemorum, diique omnes noctis adeſte."

It happens, however, that the tranſlation by Arthur Golding[8] is by no means literal, and Shakſpeare hath cloſely followed it:

> " Ye ayres and winds; *ye elves of hills*, of brookes, of woods alone,
> " *Of ſtanding lakes*, and of the night approche ye everych one."

I think it is unneceſſary to purſue this any fur-

[7] In ſome remarks on *The Tempeſt*, publiſhed under the quaint title of *An Attempt to reſcue that aunciente Engliſh Poet and Play-wrighte, Maiſter* Williaume Shakeſpeare, *from the many Errours, faulſely charged upon him by certaine new-fangled Wittes*. Lond. 8vo. 1749, p. 81.

[8] His work is dedicated to the Earl of Leiceſter in a long epiſtle in verſe, from Berwick, April 20, 1567.

ther; eſpecially as more powerful arguments awai[t] us.

In *The Merchant of Venice*, the Jew, as an apology for his cruelty to Antonio, rehearſes many *ſympathies* and *antipathies* for which *no reaſon can be rendered:*

> " Some love not a gaping pig——
> " And others when the *bagpipe* ſings i'th' noſe,
> " Cannot contain their urine for *affection*."

This incident, Dr. Warburton ſuppoſes to be taken from a paſſage in Scaliger's *Exercitations* againſt *Cardan:* " Narrabo tibi jocoſam ſympathiam *Reguli Vaſconis* equitis: is dum viveret audito *phormingis* ſono, urinam illico facere cogebatur."— " And," proceeds the Doctor, " to make this jocular ſtory ſtill more ridiculous, Shakſpeare, I ſuppoſe, tranſlated *phorminx* by *bagpipes*."

Here we ſeem fairly caught;—for Scaliger's work was never, as the term goes, *done into Engliſh*. But luckily in an old tranſlation from the French of Peter le Loier, entitled, *A Treatiſe of Specters, or ſtraunge Sights, Viſions, and Apparitions appearing ſenſibly unto Men*, we have this identical ſtory from Scaliger: and what is ſtill more, a marginal note gives us in all probability the very fact alluded to, as well as the word of Shakſpeare: " Another gentleman of this quality liued of late in Deuon neere Exceſter, who could not endure the playing on a *bagpipe*."[9]

[9] M. Bayle hath delineated the ſingular character of our *fantaſtical* author. His work was originally tranſlated by one Zacharie Jones. My edit. is in 4to. 1605, with an anonymous Dedication to the King: the Devonſhire ſtory was therefore well known in the time of Shakſpeare.——The paſſage from Scaliger is likewiſe to be met with in *The Optick Glaſſe of Humors*,

We may juſt add, as ſome obſervation hath been made upon it, that *affection* in the ſenſe of *ſympathy* was formerly *technical*; and ſo uſed by Lord Bacon, Sir Kenelm Digby, and many other writers.

A ſingle word in Queen Catherine's character of Wolſey, in *Henry VIII.* is brought by the Doctor as another argument for the learning of Shakſpeare:

" ——————— He was a man
" Of an unbounded ſtomach, ever ranking
" Himſelf with princes; one that by *ſuggeſtion*
" Ty'd all the kingdom. Simony was fair play.
" His own opinion was his law: i'th' preſence
" He would ſay untruths, and be ever double
" Both in his words and meaning. He was never,
" But where he meant to ruin, pitiful.
" His promiſes were, as he then was, mighty;
" But his performance, as he now is, nothing.
" Of his own body he was ill, and gave
" The clergy ill example."

" The word *ſuggeſtion*," ſays the critick, " is here uſed with great propriety, and *ſeeming* knowledge of the Latin tongue:" and he proceeds to ſettle the ſenſe of it from *the late Roman writers and their gloſſers*. But Shakſpeare's knowledge was from Holinſhed, whom he follows *verbatim*:

" This cardinal was of a great ſtomach, for he compted himſelf equal with princes, and by craftie *ſuggeſtion* got into his hands innumerable treaſure: he forced little on ſimonie, and was not pitifull, and ſtood affectionate in his own opinion: in open pre-

written, I believe, by T. Wombwell;* and in ſeveral other places.

* " So I imagined from a note of Mr. Baker's, but I have ſince ſeen a copy in the library of Canterbury Cathedral, printed 1607, and aſcribed to T. Walkington, of St. John's, Cambridge." Dr. Farmer's MSS. Reed.

ſence de would lie and ſeie untruth, and was double both in ſpeech and meaning: he would promiſe much and performe little: he was vicious of his bodie, and gaue the clergie euil example." Edit. 1587, p. 922.

Perhaps after this quotation, you may not think, that Sir Thomas Hanmer, who reads *Tyth'd*—inſtead of—*Ty'd all the kingdom*, deſerves quite ſo much of Dr. Warburton's ſeverity.——Indiſputably the paſſage, like every other in the ſpeech, is intended to expreſs the meaning of the parallel one in the chronicle: it cannot therefore be credited, that any man, when the *original* was produced, ſhould ſtill chooſe to defend a *cant* acceptation; and inform us, perhaps, *ſeriouſly*, that in *gaming* language, from I know not what practice, to *tye* is to *equal!* A ſenſe of the word, as far as I have yet found, *unknown* to our old writers; and, if *known*, would not ſurely have been uſed in this place by our author.

But let us turn from conjecture to Shakſpeare's authorities. Hall, from whom the above deſcription is copied by Holinſhed, is very explicit in the demands of the Cardinal: who having inſolently told the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, "For ſothe I thinke, that *halfe* your ſubſtaunce were to litle," aſſures them by way of comfort at the end of his harangue, that *upon an average* the *tythe* ſhould be ſufficient; "Sers, ſpeake not to breake that thyng that is concluded, for *ſome* ſhall not paie the *tenth* parte, and *ſome* more."—And again: "Thei ſaied, the Cardinall by viſitacions, makyng of abbottes, probates of teſtamentes, graunting of faculties, licences, and other pollyngs in his courtes legantines, had made his *threaſure egall with the kinges*." Edit. 1548, p. 138, and 143.

Skelton,[1] in his *Why come ye not to Court*, gives us, after his rambling manner, a curious character of Wolſey:

[1] His poems are printed with the title of "Pithy, Pleaſaunt, and Profitable Workes of Maiſter *Skelton Poet Laureate*."—"But," ſays Mr. Cibber, after ſeveral other writers, "how or by what intereſt he was made *Laureat*, or whether it was by a title he aſſumed to himſelf, cannot be determined." This is an error pretty generally received, and it may be worth our while to remove it.

A facetious author ſays ſomewhere, that a *poet laureat*, in the modern idea, is a gentleman, who hath an annual ſtipend for reminding us of the *New Year*, and the *Birth-day*: but formerly a *Poet Laureat* was a real *univerſity graduate*.

"Skelton wore the laurell wreath,
"And paſt in *ſchoels* ye knoe."

ſays Churchyarde in a poem prefixed to his works. And Maſter Caxton in his Preface to *The Boke of Eneydos*, 1490, hath a paſſage, which well deſerves to be quoted without abridgement: "I praye mayſter *John Skelton, late created poete laureate in the univerſite of Oxenforde*, to overſee and correcte thys ſayd booke, and taddreſſe and expowne whereas ſhall be founde faulte, to theym that ſhall requyre it; for hym I knowe for ſuffycyent to expowne and Englyſshe every dyfficulte that is therein; for he hath late tranſlated the epyſtles of Tulle, and the book of Dyodorus Syculus, and diverſe other workes out of Latyn into Englyſſhe, not in rude and old language, but in polyſhed and ornate termes, craftely, as he that hath redde *Vyrgyle*, *Ouyde*, *Tullye*, and all the other noble poets and oratours, to me unknowen: and alſo he hath redde the ix muſes, and underſtands their muſical ſcyences, and to whom of them eche ſcyence is appropred: I ſuppoſe he hath dronken of *Elycons* well!"

I find, from Mr. Baker's MSS. that our *laureat* was admitted *ad eundem* at Cambridge: "An Dom. 1493, & Hen. 7. nono. Conceditur *Johi Skelton* Poete in partibus tranſmarinis atque *Oxon.* Laureâ ornato, ut apud nos eâdem decoraretur." And afterward, "An. 1504-5 Conceditur *Johi Skelton*, Poetæ Laureat. quod poſſit ſtare eodem gradu hic, quo ſtetit *Oxoniis*, & quod poſſit uti habitu ſibi conceſſo à Principe."

See likewiſe Dr. Knight's *Life of Colet*, p. 122. And *Recherches* ſur les *Poetes couronnez*, par M. l'Abbé du Reſnel, in the *Memoires de Litterature*, Vol. X. *Paris*, 4to. 1736.

" ———— By and by
" He will drynke us ſo dry
" And ſucke us ſo nye
" That men ſhall ſcantly
" Haue penny or halpennye
" God ſaue hys noble grace
" And graunt him a place
" Endleſſe to dwel
" With the deuill of hel
" For and he were there
" We nead neuer feare
" Of the feendes blacke
" For I undertake
" He wold ſo brag and crake
" That he wold than make
" The deuils to quake
" To ſhudder and to ſhake
" Lyke a fier drake
" And with a cole rake
" Bruſe them on a brake
" And binde them to a ſtake
" And ſet hel on fyre
" At his owne deſire
" He is ſuch a grym ſyre!" Edit. 1568.

Mr. Upton and ſome other criticks have thought it very *ſcholar-like* in Hamlet to ſwear the Centinels on a *ſword:* but this is for ever met with. For inſtance, in the *Paſſus Primus* of Pierce Plowman:

" Dauid in his daies dubbed knightes,
" And did hem *ſwere on her ſword* to ſerue truth euer."

And in *Hieronymo*, the common butt of our author and the wits of the time, ſays Lorenzo to Pedringano,

" Swear on this croſs, that what thou ſayſt is true—
" But if I prove thee perjured and unjuſt,
" This very *ſword*, whereon thou took'ſt thine oath,
" Shall be the worker of thy tragedy!"

We have therefore no occaſion to go with Mr. Garrick as far as the French of Brantôme to illuſtrate this ceremony:[2] a *gentleman*, who will be always allowed the *firſt commentator* on Shakſpeare, when he does not carry us beyond *himſelf*.

Mr. Upton, however, in the next place, produces a paſſage from *Henry VI.* whence he argues it to be very plain, that our author had not only *read Cicero's Offices*, but even more *critically* than many of the editors:

> " ——————— This villain here,
> " Being captain of a *pinnace*, threatens more
> " Than Bargulus, the ſtrong Illyrian pirate."

So the *wight*, he obſerves with great exultation, is named by Cicero in the editions of Shakſpeare's time, " Bargulus Illyrius latro;" though the modern editors have choſen to call him Bardylis:—" and *thus* I found it in *two* MSS."——And *thus* he might have found it in *two* tranſlations, before Shakſpeare was born. Robert Whytinton, 1533, calls him, " Bargulus a pirate upon the ſee of Illiry;" and Nicholas Grimald, about twenty years afterward, " Bargulus the Illyrian robber."[3]

But it had been eaſy to have checked Mr. Upton's exultation, by obſerving, that Bargulus does not appear in the *quarto*.—Which alſo is the caſe with ſome fragments of Latin verſes, in the different *parts* of this *doubtful* performance.

[2] Mr. Johnſon's edit. Vol. VIII. p. 171.

[3] I have met with a writer who tells us, that a tranſlation of the *Offices* was printed by Caxton, in the year 1481: but ſuch a book never exiſted. It is a miſtake for *Tullius of old Age*, printed with *The Boke of Frendſhipe*, by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worceſter. I believe the former was tranſlated by William Wyrceſtre, alias Botoner.

It is ſcarcely worth mentioning, that two or three more Latin paſſages, which are met with in our author, are immediately tranſcribed from the ſtory or chronicle before him. Thus, in *Henry V.* whoſe right to the kingdom of France is copiouſly demonſtrated by the Archbiſhop:

" ——————There is no bar
" To make againſt your highneſs' claim to France,
" But this which they produce from Pharamond:
" In terram Salicam mulieres nè ſuccedant;
" No woman ſhall ſucceed in Salike land:
" Which Salike land the French unjuſtly gloze
" To be the realm of France, and Pharamond
" The founder of this law and female bar.
" Yet their own authors faithfully affirm,
" That the land Salike lies in Germany,
" Between the floods of Sala and of Elve,"

Archbiſhop Chichelie, ſays Holinſhed, " did much inueie againſt the ſurmiſed and falſe fained law Salike, which the Frenchmen alledge euer againſt the kings of England in barre of their juſt title to the crowne of France. The very words of that ſuppoſed law are theſe, In terram Salicam mulieres nè ſuccedant, that is to ſaie, Into the Salike land let not women ſucceed; which the French gloſſers expound to be the realm of France, and that this law was made by King Pharamond: whereas yet their owne authors affirme, that the land Salike is in Germanie, betweene the riuers of Elbe and Sala, &c. p. 545.

It hath lately been repeated from Mr. Guthrie's *Eſſay on Engliſh Tragedy*, that the *portrait* of Macbeth's *wife* is copied from Buchanan, " whoſe ſpirit, as well as words, is tranſlated into the play of Shakſpeare: and it had ſignified nothing to have ſpored only on Holinſhed for *facts*."——" Animus

etiam, per ſe ferox, prope quotidianis conviciis uxoris (quæ omnium conſiliorum ei erat conſcia) ſtimulabatur."—This is the whole, that Buchanan ſays of the *lady*; and truly I ſee no more *ſpirit* in the Scotch, than in the Engliſh chronicler. "The wordes of the three weird ſiſters alſo greatly encouraged him, [to the murder of Duncan] but ſpecially his wife lay ſore upon him to attempt the thing, as ſhe that was very ambitious, brenning in unquenchable deſire to beare the name of a queene." Edit. 1577, p. 244.

This part of Holinſhed is an abridgement of Johne Bellenden's tranſlation of the *noble clerk*, *Hector Boece*, imprinted at Edingburgh, in fol. 1541. I will give the paſſage as it is found there: "His wyfe impacient of lang tary (*as all wemen ar*) ſpecially quhare they ar deſirus of ony purpos, gaif hym gret artation to purſew the thrid weird, that ſche micht be ane quene, calland hym oft tymis febyl cowart and nocht deſyrus of honouris, ſen he durſt not aſſailze the thing with manheid and curage, quhilk is offerit to hym be beniuolence of fortoun. Howbeit ſindry otheris hes aſſailzeit ſic thinges afore with maiſt terribyl jeopardyis, quhen they had not ſic ſickernes to ſucceid in the end of thair lauboris as he had had." P. 173.

But we can *demonſtrate*, that Shakſpeare had not the ſtory from Buchanan. According to *him*, the weïrd-ſiſters ſalute Macbeth, "Una Anguſiæ Thanum, altera Moraviæ, tertia *regem*."——Thane of Angus, and of Murray, &c. but according to Holinſhed, immediately from Bellenden, as it ſtands in Shakſpeare: "The firſt of them ſpake and ſayde, All hayle Makbeth, thane of Glammis,—the ſecond of them ſaid, Hayle Makbeth, thane of Cawdor;

but the third ſayde, All hayle Makbeth, that hereafter ſhall be *king of Scotland*." P. 243.

> " 1. *Witch*. All hail, Macbeth! Hail to thee, thane of Glamis!
> " 2. *Witch*. All hail, Macbeth! Hail to thee, thane of Cawdor!
> " 3. *Witch*. All hail, Macbeth! that ſhall be *king* hereafter!"

Here too our poet found the equivocal predictions, on which his hero ſo fatally depended. " He had learned of certain wyſards, how that he ought to take heede of Macduffe;——and ſurely hereupon had he put Macduffe to death, but a certaine witch whom he had in great truſt, had tolde, that he ſhould neuer be ſlain with *man born of any woman*, nor vanquiſhed till the wood of Bernane came to the caſtell of Dunſinane." P. 244. And the ſcene between Malcolm and Macduff in the fourth Act is almoſt literally taken from the Chronicle.

Macbeth was certainly one of Shakſpeare's lateſt productions, and it might poſſibly have been ſuggeſted to him by a little performance on the ſame ſubject at Oxford, before King James, 1605. I will tranſcribe my notice of it from Wake's *Rex Platonicus*: " Fabulæ anſam dedit antiqua de Regiâ proſapiâ hiſtoriola apud Scoto-Britannos celebrata, quæ narrat tres olim Sibyllas occurriſſe duobus Scotiæ proceribus, Macbetho & Banchoni, & illum prædixiſſe Regem futurum, ſed Regem nullum geniturum; hunc Regem non futurum, ſed Reges geniturum multos. Vaticinii veritatem rerum eventus comprobavit. Banchonis enim è ſtirpe potentiſſimus Jacobus oriundus." P. 29.

A ſtronger argument hath been brought from the plot of *Hamlet*. Dr. Grey and Mr. Whalley aſſure

us, that for *this*, Shakſpeare *muſt* have read *Saxo Grammaticus* in Latin, for no tranſlation hath been made into any modern language. But the truth is, he did not take it from *Saxo* at all; a novel called *The Hyſtorie of Hamblet*, was his original: a fragment of which, in *black letter*, I have been favoured with by a very curious and intelligent gentleman, to whom the lovers of Shakſpeare will ſome time or other owe great obligations.

It hath indeed been ſaid, that "IF *ſuch an hiſtory exiſts*, it is almoſt impoſſible that any poet unacquainted with the Latin language (ſuppoſing his perceptive faculties to have been ever ſo acute,) could have caught the characteriſtical madneſs of Hamlet, deſcribed by *Saxo Grammaticus*,[4] ſo happily as it is delineated by Shakſpeare.

Very luckily, our fragment gives us a part of Hamlet's ſpeech to his *mother*, which ſufficiently replies to this obſervation:—"It was not without cauſe, and juſte occaſion, that my geſtures, countenances and words ſeeme to proceed from a madman, and that I deſire to haue all men eſteeme mee wholy depriued of ſence and reaſonable underſtanding, bycauſe I am well aſſured, that he that hath made no conſcience to kill his owne brother, (accuſtomed to murthers, and allured with deſire of gouernement without controll in his treaſons,) will not ſpare to ſaue himſelfe with the like crueltie, in the blood, and fleſh of the loyns of his brother, by him maſſacred: and therefore it is better for me to fayne madneſſe then to uſe my right ſences as

[4] "Falſitatis enim (Hamlethus) alienus haberi cupidus, ita aſtutiam veriloquio permiſcebat, ut nec dictis veracitas deeſſet, nec acuminis modus verorum judicio proderetur." This is quoted, as it had been before, in Mr. Guthrie's *Eſſay on Tragedy*, with a *ſmall* variation from the *Original*. See edit. fol. 1644, p. 50.

nature hath beſtowed them upon me. The bright ſhining clearnes therof I am forced to hide vnder this ſhadow of diſſimulation, as the ſun doth hir beams vnder ſome great cloud, when the wether in ſummer time ouercaſteth: the face of a mad man, ſerueth to couer my gallant countenance, and the geſtures of a fool are fit for me, to the end that guiding my ſelf wiſely therin I may preſerue my life for the Danes and the memory of my late deceaſed father, for that the deſire of reuenging his death is ſo ingrauen in my heart, that if I dye not ſhortly, I hope to take ſuch and ſo great vengeance, that theſe countryes ſhall for euer ſpeake thereof. Neuertheleſs I muſt ſtay the time, meanes, and occaſion, leſt by making ouer great haſt, I be now the cauſe of mine own ſodaine ruine and ouerthrow, and by that meanes, end, before I beginne to effect my hearts deſire: hee that hath to doe with a wicked, diſloyall, cruell, and diſcourteous man, muſt vſe craft, and politike inuentions, ſuch as fine witte can beſt imagine, not to diſcouer his interpriſe: for ſeeing that by force I cannot affect my deſire, reaſon alloweth me by diſſimulation, ſubtiltie, and ſecret practiſes to proceed therein."

But to put the matter out of all queſtion, my communicative friend, above-mentioned, Mr. Capell, (for why ſhould I not give myſelf the credit of his name?) hath been fortunate enough to procure from the collection of the Duke of Newcaſtle, a *complete* copy of the *Hyſtorie of Hamblet*, which proves to be a tranſlation from the French of Belleforeſt; and he tells me, that "all the chief incidents of the play, and all the capital characters are there in *embryo*, after a rude and barbarous manner: ſentiments indeed there are none, that Shakſpeare could borrow; nor any expreſſion but

one, which is, where Hamlet kills Polonius behind the arras: in doing which he is made to cry out as in the play, "*a rat, a rat!*"—So much for *Saxo Grammaticus!*

It is ſcarcely conceivable, how induſtriouſly the puritanical zeal of the laſt age exerted itſelf in deſtroying, amongſt better things, the innocent amuſements of the former. Numberleſs *Tales* and *Poems* are alluded to in old books, which are now perhaps no where to be found. Mr. Capell informs me, (and he is in theſe matters, the moſt able of all men to give information,) that our author appears to have been beholden to ſome novels, which he hath yet only ſeen in French or Italian: but he adds, "to ſay they are not in ſome Engliſh dreſs, proſaic or metrical, and perhaps with circumſtances nearer to his ſtories, is what I will not take upon me to do: nor indeed is what I believe; but rather the contrary, and that time and accident will bring ſome of them to light, if not all."—

W. Painter, at the concluſion of the ſecond *Tome* of his *Palace of Pleaſure*, 1567, *advertiſes* the reader, "bicauſe ſodaynly (contrary to expectation) this volume is riſen to a greater heape of leaues, I doe omit for this preſent time *ſundry nouels* of mery deuiſe, reſeruing the ſame to be joyned with the reſt of an other part, wherein ſhall ſucceede the remnant of *Bandello*, ſpecially ſutch (ſuffrable) as the learned French man François de Belleforeſt hath ſelected, and the choyſeſt done in the Italian. Some alſo out of *Erizzo*, *Ser Giouanni Florentiuo*, *Paraboſco*, *Cynthio*, *Straparole*, *Sanſouino*, and the beſt liked out of the Queene of *Nauarre*, and other authors. Take theſe in good part, with thoſe that haue and ſhall come forth."—But I am not able to find that a *third Tome* was ever publiſhed: and it is very

probable, that the intereſt of his bookſellers, and more eſpecially the prevailing mode of the time, might lead him afterward to print his *ſundry novels* ſeparately. If this were the caſe, it is no wonder, that ſuch *fugitive pieces* are recovered with difficulty; when the *two Tomes*, which Tom. Rawlinſon would have called *juſta volumina*, are almoſt annihilated. Mr. Ames, who ſearched after books of this ſort with the utmoſt avidity, moſt certainly had not ſeen them, when he publiſhed his *Typographical Antiquities*; as appears from his blunders about them: and poſſibly I myſelf might have remained in the ſame predicament, had I not been favoured with a copy by my generous friend, Mr. Lort.

Mr. Colman, in the Preface to his elegant tranſlation of Terence, hath offered ſome arguments for the learning of Shakſpeare, which have been retailed with much confidence, ſince the appearance of Mr. Johnſon's edition.

"Beſides the reſemblance of particular paſſages ſcattered up and down in different plays, it is well known, that the *Comedy of Errors* is in great meaſure founded on the *Menæchmi* of Plautus; but I do not recollect ever to have ſeen it obſerved, that the diſguiſe of the *Pedant* in *The Taming of the Shrew*, and his aſſuming the name and character of *Vincentio*, ſeem to be evidently taken from the diſguiſe of the *Sycophanta* in the *Trinummus* of the ſaid author;[5] and there is a quotation from the

[5] This obſervation of Mr. Colman is quoted by his very ingenious colleague, Mr. Thornton, in his tranſlation of this play: who further remarks, in another part of it, that a paſſage in *Romeo and Juliet*, where Shakſpeare ſpeaks of the *contradiction* in the nature of *love*, is very much in the manner of his author:

"Amor—mores hominum moros & moroſos efficit.
"Minus placet quod ſuadetur, quod diſuadetur placet.

Eunuch of Terence alſo, ſo familiarly introduced

" Quom inopia'ſt, cupias, quando ejus copia'ſt, tum non velis," &c.

Which he tranſlates with eaſe and elegance,

" ——————Love makes a man a fool,
" Hard to be pleas'd.—What you'd perſuade him to,
" He likes not and embraces that, from which
" You would diſſuade him.—What there is a lack of,
" That will he covet; when 'tis in his power,
" He'll none on't.——" Act III. ſc. iii.

Let us now turn to the paſſage in Shakſpeare:

" ——O brawling love! O loving hate!—
" O heavy lightneſs! ſerious vanity!
" Mis-ſhapen chaos of well-ſeeming forms!
" Feather of lead, bright ſmoke, cold fire, ſick health!
" Still-waking ſleep! that is not what it is!"

Shakſpeare, I am ſure, in the opinion of Mr. Thornton, did not want a Plautus to teach him the workings of nature; nor are his *paralleliſms* produced with any ſuch implication: but, I ſuppoſe, a peculiarity appears here in the manner of expreſſion, which however was extremely the humour of the age. Every *ſonnetteer* characteriſes *love* by contrarieties. Watſon begins one of his *canzonets*,

" Love is a ſowre delight, a fugred griefe,
" A living death, an euer-dying life," &c.

Turberville makes *Reaſon* harangue againſt it in the ſame manner:

" A fierie froſt, a flame that frozen is with iſe!
" A heavie burden light to beare! a vertue fraught with vice!" &c.

Immediately from *The Romaunt of the Roſe*:

" Loue it is an hatefull pees
" A free acquitaunce without reles—
" *An heavie burthen light to beare*
" A wicked wawe awaie to weare:
" And health full of maladie
" And charitie full of envie—
" A laughter that is weping aie
" Reſt that trauaileth night and daie," &c.

This kind of *antitheſis* was very much the taſte of the Provencal and Italian poets; perhaps it might be hinted by the *Ode of Sappho*, preſerved by Longinus: Petrarch is full of it:

into the dialogue of *The Taming of the Shrew*, that I think it puts the queſtion of Shakſpeare's having read the Roman comick poets in the *original* language out of all doubt,

'Redime te captum, quam queas, minimo."

With reſpect to *reſemblances*, I ſhall not trouble you any further.—That the *Comedy of Errors* is founded on the *Menæchmi*, it is notorious: nor is it leſs ſo, that a tranſlation of it by W. W. perhaps William Warner, the author of *Albion's England*, was extant in the time of Shakſpeare;[6] though Mr. Upton, and ſome other advocates for his learning, have cautiouſly dropt the mention of it. Beſides this, (if indeed it were different,) in the *Geſta Grayorum*, the Chriſtmas Revels of the Grays-Inn Gentlemen, 1594, "a *Comedy of Errors* like to Plautus his *Menechmus* was played by the Players." And the ſame hath been ſuſpected to be the ſubject of the *goodlie Comedie of Plautus*, acted at

"Pace non trovo, & non ho da far guerra,
"Et temo, & ſpero, & ardo, & ſon un ghiaccio,
"Et volo ſopra'l cielo, & ghiaccio in terra,
"Et nulla ſtringo, & tutto 'l mondo abbraccio." &c.
Sonetto 105.

Sir Thomas Wyat gives a tranſlation of this Sonnet, without any notice of the *original*, under the title of "Deſcription of the contrarious paſſions in a Lover," amongſt the *Songes and Sonettes*, by the Earle of Surrey, and Others, 1574.

[6] It was publiſhed in 4to. 1595. The printer of Langbaine, p. 434, hath accidentally given the date, 1515, which hath been copied implicitly by Gildon, Theobald, Cooke, and ſeveral others. Warner is now almoſt forgotten, yet the old criticks eſteemed him one of "our chiefe heroical *makers*."—*Meres* informs us, that he had "heard him termed of the beſt wits of both our Univerſities, our *Engliſh Homer*."

Greenwich before the King and Queen in 1520; as we learn from Hall and Holinſhed:—Riccoboni highly compliments the Engliſh on opening their ſtage ſo well; but unfortunately, Cavendiſh in his *Life of Wolſey*, calls it, an *excellent Interlude in Latine*. About the ſame time it was exhibited in German at Nuremburgh, by the celebrated *Hanſſach*, the *ſhoemaker*.

"But a character in *The Taming of the Shrew* is borrowed from the *Trinummus*, and no tranſlation of *that* was extant."

Mr. Colman indeed hath been better employed: but if he had met with an old comedy, called *Suppoſes*, tranſlated from Arioſto by George Gaſcoigne;[7] he certainly would not have appealed to Plautus. Thence Shakſpeare borrowed this part of the plot, (as well as ſome of the phraſeology,) though Theobald pronounces it his own invention: there likewiſe he found the quaint name of *Petruchio*. My young maſter and his man exchange habits and characters, and perſuade a Scenæſe, as he is called, to perſonate the *father*, exactly as in the *Taming of the Shrew*, by the pretended danger of his coming from Sienna to Ferrara, contrary to the order of the government.

Still, Shakſpeare quotes a line from the *Eunuch* of Terence: by memory too, and what is more, "purpoſely alters it, in order to bring the ſenſe

[7] His works were firſt collected under the ſingular title of "A hundredth ſundrie Flowres bounde up in one ſmall Poeſie. Gathered partly (by tranſlation) in the fyne outlandiſh gardins of *Euripides, Ouid, Petrarke, Arioſto*, and others: and partly by inuention, out of our own fruitefull orchardes in Englande: yelding ſundrie ſweet ſauors of tragicall, comicall, and morall diſcourſes, bothe pleaſaunt and profitable to the well ſmellyng noſes of learned readers." *Black letter*, 4to. no date.

within the compaſs of one line."——This remark was previous to Mr. Johnſon's; or indiſputably it would not have been made at all.——"Our author had this line from Lilly; which I mention that it may not be brought as an argument of his learning."

"But how," cries an unprovoked antagoniſt, "can you take upon you to ſay, that he had it from Lilly, and not from Terence?"[8] I will anſwer for Mr. Johnſon, who is above anſwering for himſelf. —Becauſe it is quoted as it appears in the *grammarian*, and not as it appears in the *poet*.—And thus we have done with the *purpoſed* alteration. Udall likewiſe in his *Floures for Latin ſpeaking, gathered out of Terence*, 1560, reduces the paſſage to a ſingle line, and ſubjoins a tranſlation.

We have hitherto ſuppoſed Shakſpeare the author of the *Taming of a Shrew*, but his property in it is extremely diſputable. I will give you my opinion, and the reaſons on which it is founded. I ſuppoſe then the preſent play not *originally* the work of Shakſpeare, but reſtored by him to the ſtage, with the whole Induction of the Tinker, and ſome other occaſional improvements; eſpecially in the character of Petruchio. It is very obvious, that the *induction* and the *play* were either the works of different hands, or written at a great interval of time: the former is in our author's *beſt* manner, and the greater part of the *latter* in his *worſt*, or even below it. Dr. Warburton declares it to be *certainly* ſpurious: and without doubt, *ſuppoſing* it to have been written by Shakſpeare, it muſt have been one of his *earlieſt* productions; yet it is not

[8] W. Kenrick's Review of Dr. Johnſon's edit. of Shakſpeare, 1765, 8vo. p. 105.

mentioned in the liſt of his works by Meres in 1598.

I have met with a facetious piece of Sir John Harrington, printed in 1596, (and poſſibly there may be an earlier edition,) called, *The Metamorphoſis of Ajax*, where I ſuſpect an alluſion to the old play: "Reade the *booke* of *Taming a Shrew*, which hath made a number of us ſo perfect, that *now* every one can rule a ſhrew in our countrey, ſave he that hath hir."—I am aware, a *modern* linguiſt may object, that the word *book* does not at preſent ſeem *dramatick*, but it was once almoſt *technically* ſo: Goſſon, in his *Schoole of Abuſe*, "contayning a pleaſaunt inuective againſt *Poets*, *Pipers*, *Players*, *Jeſters*, and ſuch like *Caterpillars* of a common-wealth," 1579, mentions "twoo proſe *bookes* plaied at the Belſauage;" and Hearne tells us in a note at the end of *William of Worceſter*, that he had ſeen "a MS. in the nature of a *play* or *interlude*, intitled, *The Booke of Sir Thomas Moore*."[9]

[9] I know indeed, there is extant a very old poem, in *black letter*, to which it might have been ſuppoſed Sir John Harrington alluded, had he not ſpoken of the diſcovery as a *new* one, and recommended it as worthy the notice of his countrymen: I am perſuaded the method in the old bard will not be thought *either*. At the end of the ſixth volume of Leland's *Itinerary*, we are *favoured* by Mr. Hearne with a Macaronick poem on a battle at Oxford between the ſcholars and the townſmen: on a line of which,

"Invadunt aulas *bycheſon cum forth* geminantes,"

our commentator very wiſely and gravely remarks: "*Bycheſon*, id eſt, *ſon* of a *byche*, ut è codice Rawlinſoniano edidi. Eo nempe modo quo et olim *whorſon* dixerunt pro *ſon of a whore*. Exempla habemus cum alibi tum in libello quodam lepido & antiquo (inter codices Seldenianos in Bibl. Bodl.) qui inſcribitur: *The wife lapped in Morel's Skin: or the Taming of a Shrew*. Ubi pag. 30, ſic legimus:

And in fact, there is ſuch an old *anonymous* play in Mr. Pope's liſt. "A pleaſant conceited Hiſtory, called, *The Taming of a Shrew*—ſundry times acted by the Earl of Pembroke his Servants." Which ſeems to have been republiſhed by the remains of that company in 1607, when Shakſpeare's copy appeared at the Black-Friars or the Globe.—Nor let this ſeem derogatory from the character of our poet. There is no reaſon to believe, that he wanted to claim the play as his own; it was not even printed till ſome years after his death: but he merely revived it on his ſtage as a *manager*.—Ravenſcroft aſſures us, that this was really the caſe with *Titus Andronicus*; which, it may be obſerved, hath not Shakſpeare's name on the title-page of the only edition publiſhed in his life-time. Indeed, from every internal mark, I have not the leaſt doubt but this *horrible* piece was originally written by the author of the *lines* thrown into the mouth of the *player* in *Hamlet*, and of the tragedy of *Locrine*:

"They wreſtled togyther thus they two
"So long that the clothes aſunder went.
"And to the ground he threwe her tho,
"That cleane from the backe her ſmock he rent.
"In every hand a rod he gate,
"And layd upon her a right good pace:
"Aſking of her what game was that,
"And ſhe cried out, *Horeſon*, alas, alas."

Et pag. 42:

"Come downe now in this ſeller ſo deepe,
"And morels ſkin there ſhall you ſee:
"With many a rod that hath made me to weepe,
"When the blood ranne downe faſt by my knee.
"The mother this beheld, and cryed out, alas:
"And ran out of the ſeller as ſhe had been wood.
"She came to the table where the company was,
"And ſay'd out, *horeſon*, I will ſee thy harte blood."

which likewiſe from ſome aſſiſtance perhaps given to his friend, hath been unjuſtly and ignorantly charged upon Shakſpeare.

But the *ſheet-anchor* holds faſt: Shakſpeare himſelf hath left ſome tranſlations from Ovid. "The Epiſtles," ſays one, "of Paris and Helen, give a ſufficient proof of his acquaintance with *that* poet:" "And it may be concluded," ſays another, "that he was a competent judge of *other* authors, who wrote in the ſame language."

This hath been the univerſal cry, from Mr. Pope himſelf to the criticks of yeſterday. Poſſibly, however, the gentlemen will heſitate a moment, if we tell them, that Shakſpeare was *not* the author of theſe tranſlations. Let them turn to a forgotten book, by Thomas Heywood, called, *Britaines Troy*, printed by W. Jaggard in 1609, fol. and they will find theſe identical Epiſtles, "which being ſo pertinent to our hiſtorie," ſays Heywood, "*I* thought neceſſarie to tranſlate."—How then came they aſcribed to Shakſpeare? We will tell them that likewiſe. The ſame voluminous writer publiſhed an *Apology for Actors*, 4to. 1612, and in an Appendix directed to his new printer, Nic. Okes, he accuſes his old one, Jaggard, of "taking the two *Epiſtles of Paris to Helen* and *Helen to Paris*, and printing them in a leſs volume, and under the name of *another*:—but *he* was much offended with Maſter Jaggard, that altogether unknowne to him, he had preſumed to make ſo bold with his name."[1]

[1] It may ſeem little matter of wonder, that the name of Shakſpeare ſhould be borrowed for the benefit of the bookſeller; and by the way, as probably for a *play* as a *poem*: but modern criticks may be ſurpriſed perhaps at the complaint of John Hall, that "certayne chapters of the *Proverbes*, tranſlated by him into

In the ſame work of Heywood are all the other tranſlations, which have been printed in the modern editions of the poems of Shakſpeare.

You now hope for land: We have ſeen through little matters, but what muſt be done with a whole book?—In 1751, was reprinted, "A compendious or brieſe Examination of certayne ordinary Complaints of diuers of our Countrymen in theſe our Days: which although they are in ſome Parte unjuſt and friuolous, yet are they all by way of Dialogue, throughly debated and diſcuſſed by William Shakſpeare, Gentleman." 8vo.

This extraordinary piece was originally publiſhed in 4to. 1581, and dedicated by the author, "To the moſt vertuous and learned lady, his moſt deare and ſoveraigne princeſſe, Elizabeth; being inforced by her Majeſties late and ſingular clemency in pardoning certayne his unduetifull miſdemeanour." And by the modern editors, to the late King; as "a treatiſe compoſed by the moſt extenſive and fertile genius, that ever any age or nation produced."

Here we join iſſue with the writers of that excellent though very unequal work, the *Biographia Britannica*:[2] "If," ſay they, "this piece could be

Engliſh metre, 1550, had before been untruely *entituled* to be the doyngs of Mayſter *Thomas Sternhold*.

[2] I muſt, however, correct a remark in the *Life of Spenſer*, which is impotently levelled at the firſt criticks of the age. It is obſerved from the correſpondence of Spenſer and Gabriel Harvey, that the plan of *The Fairy Queen*, was laid, and part of it executed in 1580, *three* years before the *Gieruſalemme Liberata* was printed: "hence appears the impertinence of all the apologies for his choice of *Arioſto's* manner in preference of *Taſſo's!*"

But the fact is not true with reſpect to Taſſo. Manſo and Niceron inform us, that his poem was publiſhed, though imperfectly in 1574; and I myſelf can aſſure the biographer, that I

written by our poet, it would be abſolutely deciſive in the diſpute about his learning; for many quotations appear in it from the Greek and Latin claſſicks."

The concurring circumſtances of the *name*, and the *miſdemeanor*, which is ſuppoſed to be the old ſtory of *deer-ſtealing*, ſeem fairly to challenge our poet for the author: but they heſitate.—His claim may appear to be confuted by the date 1581, when Shakſpeare was only *ſeventeen*, and the *long* experience, which the writer talks of.—But I will not

have met with at leaſt *ſix* other editions, preceding his date for its firſt publication. I ſuſpect, that Baillet is accountable for this miſtake: who in the *Jugemens des Scavans*, Tom. III. p. 399, mentions no edition previous to the quarto, *Venice*, 1583.

It is a queſtion of long ſtanding, whether a part of *The Fairy Queen* hath been *loſt*, or whether the work was left *unfiniſhed*: which may effectually be anſwered by a ſingle quotation. William Browne publiſhed ſome Poems in fol. 1616, under the name of *Britannia's Paſtorals*, "eſteemed *then*," ſays Wood, "to be written in a ſublime ſtrain, and for ſubject *amorous* and *very pleaſing*."—In one of which, Book II. Song 1, he thus ſpeaks of Spenſer:

"He ſung th' heroicke knights of faiery land
"In lines ſo elegant, of ſuch command,
"That had the Thracian plaid but halfe ſo well,
"He had not left Eurydice in hell.
"But *e're he ended his melodious ſong*,
"An hoſt of *angels* flew the clouds among,
"And rapt this ſwan from his attentive mates,
"To make him one of their aſſociates
"In heauens faire quire: where now he ſings the praiſe
"Of him that is the *firſt and laſt of daies*."

It appears, that Browne was intimate with Drayton, Jonſon, and Selden, by their poems prefixed to his book: he had therefore good opportunities of being acquainted with the fact above-mentioned. Many of his poems remain in MS. We have in our library at Emmanuel, a maſque of his, preſented at the Inner Temple, Jan. 13, 1614. The ſubject is the ſtory of Ulyſſes and Circe.

keep you in ſuſpenſe: the book was *not* written by Shakſpeare.

Strype, in his *Annals*, calls the author SOME *learned man*, and this gave me the firſt ſuſpicion. I knew very well, that honeſt John (to uſe the language of Sir Thomas Bodley) did not waſte his time with ſuch *baggage books* as *plays* and *poems*; yet I muſt ſuppoſe, that he had heard of the name of Shakſpeare. After a while I met with the original edition. Here in the title-page, and at the end of the dedication, appear only the initials, W. S. Gent. and preſently I was informed by Anthony Wood, that the book in queſtion was written, not by William Shakſpeare, but by William Stafford, Gentleman:[3] which at once accounted for the *miſdemeanour* in the dedication. For Stafford had been concerned at that time, and was indeed afterward, as Camden and the other annaliſts inform us, with ſome of the conſpirators againſt Elizabeth; which he properly calls his *unduetifull* behaviour.

I hope by this time, that any one open to conviction may be nearly ſatisfied; and I will promiſe to give you on this head very little more trouble.

The juſtly celebrated Mr. Warton hath favoured us, in his *Life of Dr. Bathurſt*, with ſome *hearſay* particulars concerning Shakſpeare from the papers of Aubrey, which had been in the hands of Wood; and I ought not to ſuppreſs them, as the *laſt* ſeems to make againſt my doctrine. They came originally, I find, on conſulting the MS. from one Mr. Beeſton: and I am ſure Mr. Warton, whom I have the

[3] *Faſti*, 2d edit. v. 1, 208.—It will be ſeen on turning to the former edition, that the latter part of the paragraph belongs to another Stafford.—I have ſince obſerved, that Wood is not the firſt who hath given us the true author of the pamphlet.

honour to call my friend, and an aſſociate in the queſtion, will be in no pain about their credit.

"William Shakſpeare's father was a butcher,—while he was a boy he exerciſed his father's trade, but when he killed a calf, he would do it in a high ſtyle, and make a ſpeech. This William being inclined *naturally* to poetry and acting, came to London, I gueſs, about *eighteen*, and was an actor in one of the playhouſes, and did act *exceedingly well*. He began *early* to make eſſays in dramatique poetry.—The humour of the Conſtable in the *Midſummer-Night's Dream* he happened to take at Crendon[4] in Bucks.—I think, I have been told, that he left near three hundred pounds to a *ſiſter*.—*He underſtood Latin pretty well*, FOR *he had been in his younger yeares a ſchoolmaſter in the country*."

I will be ſhort in my animadverſions; and take them in their order.

The account of the *trade* of the family is not only contrary to all other tradition, but, as it may ſeem, to the inſtrument from the Herald's Office, ſo frequently reprinted.——Shakſpeare moſt certainly went to London, and commenced actor through neceſſity, not natural inclination.—Nor have we any reaſon to ſuppoſe, that he did act *exceeding well*. Rowe tells us, from the information of Betterton, who was inquiſitive into this point, and had very early opportunities of inquiry

[4] It was obſerved in the former edition, that this place is not met with in Spelman's *Villare*, or in Adams's *Index*; nor, it might have been added, in the *firſt* and the *laſt* performance of this ſort, Speed's *Tables*, and Whatley's *Gazetteer*: perhaps, however, it may be meant under the name of *Crandon*;—but the inquiry is of no importance.—It ſhould, I think, be written *Credendon*; though better antiquaries than Aubrey have acquieſced in the vulgar corruption.

from Sir W. D'Avenant, that he was no *extraordinary actor*; and that the top of his performance was the Ghoſt in his own *Hamlet*. Yet this *chef d'oeuvre* did not pleaſe: I will give you an original ſtroke at it. Dr. Lodge, who was for ever peſtering the town with pamphlets, publiſhed in the year 1596, *Wits Miſerie, and the Worlds Madneſſe, diſcovering the Devils incarnat of this Age*, 4to. One of theſe devils are *Hate-virtue*, or *Sorrow for another man's good ſucceſſe*, who, ſays the Doctor, is "*a foule lubber*, and looks as pale as the viſard of the Ghoſt, which cried ſo miſerably at the theatre, like an oiſter-wife, *Hamlet revenge*."[5] Thus you ſee Mr. Holt's ſuppoſed *proof*, in the Appendix to the late edition, that *Hamlet* was written after 1597, or perhaps 1602, will by no means hold good; whatever

[5] To this obſervation of Dr. Farmer it may be added, that the play of Hamlet was better known by this ſcene, than by any other. In Decker's *Satiromaſtix*, 1602, the following paſſage occurs:

"*Aſinius.*

"Would I were hang'd if I can call you any names but captain, and *Tucca*."

"*Tucca.*

"No, fye; my name's *Hamlet Revenge*: thou haſt been at Paris-Garden, haſt thou not?"

Again, in *Weſtward Hoe*, by Decker and Webſter, 1607:

"Let theſe huſbands play *mad Hamlet, and cry, revenge!*"

STEEVENS.

Dr. Farmer's obſervation may be further confirmed by the following paſſage in an anonymous play, called *A Warning for faire Women*, 1599. We alſo learn from it the uſual dreſs of the ſtage ghoſts of that time:

"——A filthie whining ghoſt,
"Lapt in ſome foule ſheet, or a *leather pilch*,
"Comes ſcreaming like a pigge half ſtickt,
"And cries *vindicta—revenge, revenge*."

The leathern pilch, I ſuppoſe, was a theatrical ſubſtitute for armour. MALONE.

might be the caſe of the particular paſſage on which it is founded.

Nor does it appear, that Shakſpeare did begin early to make *eſsays in dramatick poetry: The Arraignment of Paris*, 1584, which hath ſo often been aſcribed to him on the credit of Kirkman and Winſtanley,[6] was written by George Peele; and Shakſpeare is not met with, even as an *aſsiſtant*, till at leaſt ſeven years afterward.[7]—Naſh, in his *Epiſtle to the Gentlemen Students of both Univerſities*, prefixed to Greene's *Arcadia*, 4to. *black letter*, recommends his friend, Peele, "as the chiefe ſupporter of pleaſance now living, the Atlas of poetrie, and *primus verborum artifex*: whoſe firſt increaſe, *The Arraignment of Paris*, might plead to their opinions his pregnant dexteritie of wit, and manifold varietie of inuention."[8]

[6] Theſe people, who were the *Curls* of the laſt age, aſcribe likewiſe to our author, thoſe miſerable performances, *Mucidorus*, and *The Merry Devil of Edmonton*.

[7] Mr. Pope aſſerts, "The troubleſome Raigne of *King John*," in two parts, 1611, to have been written by Shakſpeare and Rowley:—which edition is a mere copy of another in black letter, 1591. But I find his aſſertion is ſomewhat to be doubted: for the old edition hath no name of *author* at all; and that of 1611, the initials only, *W. Sh.* in the title-page.*

[8] Peele ſeems to have been taken into the patronage of the Earl of Northumberland about 1593, to whom he dedicates in that year, "*The Honour of the Garter*, a poem gratulatorie—the *firſtling* conſecrated to his noble name."—"He was eſteemed," ſays Anthony Wood, "a moſt noted poet, 1579; but when or where he died, I cannot tell, for *ſo it is*, and always *hath been*, that moſt POETS die *poor*, and conſequently obſcurely, and a hard matter it is to trace them to their graves. *Claruit* 1599." *Ath. Oxon.* Vol. I. p. 300.

We had lately in a periodical pamphlet, called, *The Theatrical*

* See the *Eſsay on the Order of Shakſpeare's Plays*, Article, *King John*. MALONE.

In the next place, unfortunately, there is neither ſuch a character as a *Conſtable* in the *Midſummer-Night's Dream:* nor was the *three hundred pounds* legacy to a *ſiſter,* but a *daughter.*

And to cloſe the whole, it is not poſſible, according to Aubrey himſelf, that Shakſpeare could have been ſome *years a ſchoolmaſter in the country:* on which circumſtance only the ſuppoſition of his learning is profeſſedly founded. He was not ſurely *very* young, when he was employed to *kill calves,* and commenced player about *eighteen!*—The truth is, that he left his father, for a wife, a year ſooner; and had at leaſt two children born at Stratford before he retired from thence to London. It is therefore ſufficiently clear, that poor Anthony had too much reaſon for his character of Aubrey. You will find it in his own account of his life, publiſhed by Hearne, which I would earneſtly recommend to any hypochondriack:

"A pretender to antiquities, roving, magotie-

Review, a very *curious* letter under the name of George Peele, to one Maſter Henrie Marle; relative to a diſpute between Shakſpeare and Alleyn, which was compromiſed by Ben Jonſon:—"I never longed for thy companye more than laſt night; we were all verie merrie at the Globe, when Ned Alleyn did not ſcruple to affyrme pleaſauntly to thy friende Will, that he had ſtolen hys ſpeeche about the excellencie of acting in *Hamlet* hys tragedye, from converſaytions manifold, whych had paſſed between them, and opinions gyven by Alleyn touching that ſubject. Shakſpeare did not take this talk in good ſorte; but Jonſon did put an end to the ſtryfe wyth wittielie ſaying, thys affaire needeth no contentione; you ſtole it from Ned no doubte: do not marvel: haue you not ſeene hym acte tymes out of number?"—This is pretended to be printed from the original MS. dated 1600; which agrees well enough with Wood's *Clarui:* but unluckily, Peele was dead at leaſt two years before. "As Anacreon died by the *pot,* ſays Meres, ſo George Peele by the *pox.*" *Wit's Treaſury,* 1598, p. 286.

headed, and ſometimes little better than craſed: and being exceedingly credulous, would ſtuff his many letters ſent to A. W. with *folliries* and miſinformations." P. 577.

Thus much for the learning of Shakſpeare with reſpect to the ancient languages: indulge me with an obſervation or two on the ſuppoſed knowledge of the modern ones, and I will promiſe to releaſe you.

"It is *evident*," we have been told, "that he was not unacquainted with the Italian:" but let us inquire into the *evidence*.

Certainly ſome Italian words and phraſes appear in the works of Shakſpeare; yet if we had nothing elſe to obſerve, their orthography might lead us to ſuſpect them to be not of the writer's importation. But we can go further, and prove this.

When Piſtol "cheers up himſelf with ends of verſe," he is only a copy of Hanniball Gonſaga, who ranted on yielding himſelf a priſoner to an Engliſh captain in the Low Countries, as you may read in an old collection of tales, called *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*,[9]

"Si fortuna me tormenta,
"Il ſperanza me contenta."

And Sir Richard Hawkins, in his voyage to the South-Sea, 1593, throws out the ſame jingling diſtich on the loſs of his pinnace.

"Maſter Page, ſit; good Maſter Page, ſit; *Pro-*

[9] By one Anthony Copley, 4to. black letter, it ſeems to have had many editions: perhaps the laſt was in 1614.—The firſt piece of this ſort, that I have met with, was printed by T. Berthelet, though not mentioned by Ames, called, "Tales, and quicke anſweres very mery and pleaſant to rede." 4to. no date.

face. What you want in meat, we'll have in drink," ſays Juſtice Shallow's *fac totum*, Davy, in the Second Part of *Henry IV.*

Proface, Sir Thomas Hanmer obſerves to be Italian, from *profaccia*, *much good may it do you.* Mr. Johnſon rather thinks it a miſtake for *perforce.* Sir Thomas however is right; yet it is no argument for his author's Italian knowledge.

Old Heywood, the epigrammatiſt, addreſſed his readers long before,

> " Readers, reade this thus: for preface, *proface,*
> " Much good do it you, the poore repaſt here," &c.
> *Woorkes*, Lond. 4to. 1562.

And Dekker in his play, *If it be not good, the Diuel is in it*, (which is certainly true, for it is full of devils,) makes Shackle-ſoule, in the character of Friar Ruſh, tempt his brethren with " choice of diſhes,"

> " To which *profece*; with blythe lookes fit yee."

Nor hath it eſcaped the quibbling manner of the *Water-poet*, in the title of a poem prefixed to his *Praiſe of Hempſeed*: " A Preamble, Preatrot, Preagallop, Preapace, or Preface; and *Proface*, my Maſters, if your Stomacks ſerve."

But the editors are not contented without coining Italian. " *Rivo, ſays the drunkard,*" is an expreſſion of the *madcap* Prince of Wales; which Sir Thomas Hanmer corrects to *Ribi, drink away*, or *again*, as it ſhould be rather tranſlated. Dr. Warburton accedes to this; and Mr. Johnſon hath admitted it into his text; but with an obſervation, that *Rivo* might poſſibly be the cant of Engliſh taverns. And ſo indeed it was: it occurs frequently

in Marſton. Take a quotation from his comedy of *What you will*, 1607 :

" Muſicke, tobacco, ſacke, and ſleepe,
" The tide of ſorrow backward keep :
" If thou art ſad at others fate,
" *Rivo*, drink deep, give care the mate."

In *Love's Labour's Loſt*, Boyet calls Don Armado,

" ——A Spaniard that keeps here in court,
" A phantaſme, a *monarcho*.——"

Here too Sir Thomas is willing to palm Italian upon us. We ſhould read, it ſeems, *mammuccio*, a mammet, or puppet : Ital. *Mammuccia*. But the alluſion is to a fantaſtical *character* of the time.—" Popular applauſe," ſays Meres, " dooth nouriſh ſome, neither do they gape after any other thing, but vaine praiſe and glorie,—as in our age Peter Shakerlye of Paules, and MONARCHO that liued about the court " P. 178.

I fancy, you will be ſatisfied with one more inſtance.

" *Baccare*, You are marvellous forward," quoth Gremio to Petruchio in the *Taming of a Shrew*.

" But not ſo *forward*," ſays Mr. Theobald, " as our editors are *indolent*. This is a ſtupid corruption of the preſs, that none of them have dived into. We muſt read *Baccalare*, as Mr. Warburton acutely obſerved to me, by which the Italians mean, Thou ignorant, preſumptuous man."—" Properly, indeed," adds Mr. Heath, " a *graduated* ſcholar, but ironically and ſarcaſtically, a *pretender* to ſcholarſhip."

This is admitted by the editors and critics of every denomination. Yet the word is neither wrong, nor Italian : it was an old proverbial one, uſed fre-

quently by John Heywood; who hath made, what he pleaſes to call, *epigrams* upon it.

Take two of them, ſuch as they are:

"*Backare*, quoth Mortimer to his ſow:
"Went that ſow *backe* at that biddyng trowe you?"

"*Backare*, quoth Mortimer to his ſow: ſe
"Mortimers ſow ſpeakth as good *latin* as he."

Howel takes this from Heywood in his *Old Sawes and Adages:* and Philpot introduces it into the Proverbs collected by Camden.

We have but few obſervations concerning Shakſpeare's knowledge of the Spaniſh tongue. Dr. Grey indeed is willing to ſuppoſe, that the plot of *Romeo and Juliet* may be borrowed from a COMEDY of Lopes de Vega. But the Spaniard, who was certainly acquainted with Bandello, hath not only changed the cataſtrophe, but the names of the characters. Neither Romeo nor Juliet; neither Montague nor Capulet, appears in this performance: and how came they to the knowledge of Shakſpeare?—Nothing is more certain, than that he chiefly followed the tranſlation by Painter, from the French of Boiſteau, and hence ariſe the deviations from Bandello's original Italian.[1] It ſeems,

[1] It is remarked, that "Paris, though in one place called *earl*, is moſt commonly ſtyled the *countie* in this play. Shakſpeare ſeems to have preferred, for ſome reaſon or other, the Italian *conte* to our *count*:—perhaps he took it from the old Engliſh novel, from which he is ſaid to have taken his plot."—He certainly did ſo: Paris is there firſt ſtyled *a young earle*, and afterward, *counte*, *countee*, and *countie*; according to the unſettled orthography of the time.

The word, however, is frequently met with in other writers; particularly in Fairfax:

however, from a paſſage in Ames's *Typographical Antiquities*, that Painter was not the only tranſlator of this popular ſtory: and it is poſſible therefore, that Shakſpeare might have other aſſiſtance.

In the Induction to *The Taming of the Shrew*, the Tinker attempts to talk Spaniſh: and *conſequently* the author himſelf was acquainted with it.

> " *Paucas pallabris*, let the world ſlide, *feſſa*."

But this is a burleſque on *Hieronymo*; the piece of bombaſt, that I have mentioned to you before:

> " What new device hath they deviſed, trow?
> " *Pocas pallabras*," &c.———

Mr. Whalley tells us, the author of this piece hath the happineſs to be at this time unknown, the remembrance of him having periſhed with himſelf: Philips and others aſcribe it to one William Smith: but I take this opportunity of informing him, that it was written by Thomas Kyd; if he will accept the authority of his contemporary, Heywood.

More hath been ſaid concerning Shakſpeare's

> " As when a captaine doth beſiege ſome hold,
> " Set in a mariſh or high on a hill,
> " And trieth waies and wiles a thouſand fold,
> " To bring the piece ſubjected to his will;
> " So far'd the *countie* with the pagan bold." &c.
>
> *Godfrey of Bulloigne*, Book VII. ſt. 90.

" Fairfax," ſays Mr. Hume, " hath tranſlated Taſſo with an elegance and eaſe, and at the ſame time with an exactneſs, which for that age are ſurpriſing. Each line in the original is faithfully rendered by a correſpondent line in the tranſlation." The former part of this character is extremely true; but the latter not quite ſo. In the book above quoted Taſſo and Fairfax do not even agree in the number of *ſtanzas*.

acquaintance with the French language. In the play of *Henry V.* we have a whole ſcene in it, and in other places it occurs familiarly in the dialogue.

We may obſerve in general, that the early editions have not half the quantity; and every ſentence, or rather every word moſt ridiculouſly blundered. Theſe, for ſeveral reaſons, could not poſſibly be publiſhed by the author;[2] and it is

[2] Every writer on Shakſpeare hath expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, that his author was not ſolicitous to ſecure his fame by a correct edition of his performances. This matter is not underſtood. When a poet was connected with a particular playhouſe, he conſtantly ſold his works to the *Company*, and it was their intereſt to keep them from a number of rivals. A favourite piece, as Heywood informs us, only got into print, when it was copied *by the ear*, "for a double ſale would bring on a ſuſpicion of honeſtie." Shakſpeare therefore himſelf publiſhed nothing in the drama: when he left the ſtage, his copies remained with his fellow-managers, Heminge and Condell; who at their own retirement, about ſeven years after the death of their author, gave the world the edition now known by the name of the *firſt folio*; and call the previous publications "ſtolne and ſurreptitious, maimed and deformed by the frauds and ſtealths of injurious impoſtors." But *this* was printed from the playhouſe copies; which in a ſeries of years had been frequently altered, through convenience, caprice, or ignorance. We have a ſufficient inſtance of the liberties taken by the actors, in an old pamphlet by Naſh, called *Lenten Stuff, with the Prayſe of the red Herring*, 4to. 1599, where he aſſures us, that in a play of his, called *The Iſle of Dogs*, "*ſome acts*, without his conſent, or the leaſte gueſſe of his drift or ſcope, were ſupplied by the players."

This, however, was not his firſt quarrel with them. In the Epiſtle prefixed to Greene's *Arcadia*, which I have quoted before, Tom hath a laſh at ſome "vaine glorious tragedians," and very plainly at Shakſpeare in particular; which will ſerve for an anſwer to an obſervation of Mr. Pope, that had almoſt been forgotten: "It was thought a praiſe to Shakſpeare, that he ſcarce ever blotted a line:—I believe the common opinion of his want of learning proceeded from no better ground. This too might be thought a praiſe by ſome."—But hear Naſh, who was far from *praiſing*: "I leaue all theſe to the mercy of their *mother-*

extremely probable, that the French ribaldry was at firſt inſerted by a different hand, as the many additions moſt certainly were after he had left the ſtage.—Indeed, every friend to his memory will not eaſily believe, that he was acquainted with the ſcene between Catharine and the old gentlewoman; or ſurely he would not have admitted ſuch obſcenity and nonſenſe.

Mr. Hawkins, in the Appendix to Mr. Johnſon's edition, hath an ingenious obſervation to prove, that Shakſpeare, ſuppoſing the French to be his, had very little knowledge of the language.

"Eſt-il impoſſible d'eſchapper la force de ton

tongue, that feed on nought but the crums that fall from the *tranſlator's* trencher.—That could ſcarcely *Latinize* their neck verſe if they ſhould haue neede, yet *Engliſh Seneca* read by candle-light yeelds many good ſentences—hee will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I ſhould ſay, *handfuls* of tragicall ſpeeches."—I cannot determine exactly when this *Epiſtle* was firſt publiſhed; but, I fancy, it will carry the original *Hamlet* ſomewhat further back than we have hitherto done: and it may be obſerved, that the oldeſt copy now extant is ſaid to be "enlarged to almoſt as much againe as it was." Gabriel Harvey printed at the end of the year 1592, *Foure Letters and certaine Sonnetts, eſpecially touching Robert Greene:* in one of which his *Arcadia* is mentioned. Now Naſh's Epiſtle muſt have been previous to theſe, as Gabriel is quoted in it with applauſe; and the *Foure Letters* were the beginning of a quarrel. Naſh replied, in *Strange Newes of the intercepting certaine Letters, and a Conuoy of Verſes, as they were going* privilie *to victual the Low Countries*, 1593. Harvey rejoined the ſame year in *Pierce's Supererogation, or a new Praiſe of the old Aſſe*. And Naſh again, in *Have with you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriell Harvey's Hunt is up; containing a full Anſwer to the eldeſt Sonne of the Halter-maker*, 1596.

Dr. Lodge calls Naſh our *true Engliſh Aretine*: and John Taylor in his *Kickſey-Winſey, or a Lerry Come-twang*, even makes an oath "by ſweet ſatyricke Naſhe his urne."—He died before 1606, as appears from an old comedy, called *The Return from Parnaſſus*.

bras?" ſays a Frenchman.—"*Braſs*, cur?" replies Piſtol.

"Almoſt any one knows, that the French word *bras* is pronounced *brau*; and what reſemblance of ſound does this bear to *braſs?*"

Mr. Johnſon makes a doubt, whether the pronunciation of the French language may not be changed, ſince Shakſpeare's time, "if not," ſays he, "it may be ſuſpected that ſome other man wrote the French ſcenes:" but this does not appear to be the caſe, at leaſt in this termination, from the rules of the grammarians, or the practice of the poets. I am certain of the former from the *French Alphabeth* of De la Mothe,[3] and the *Orthoepia Gallica* of John Eliot;[4] and of the latter from the rhymes of Marot, Ronſard, and Du Bartas.—Connections of this kind were very common. Shakſpeare himſelf aſſiſted Ben Jonſon in his *Sejanus*, as it was originally written; and Fletcher in his *Two Noble Kinſmen*.

But what if the French ſcene were occaſionally introduced into every play on this ſubject? and perhaps there were more than one before our poet's—In *Pierce Penileſſe, his Supplication to the Deuill*, 4to. 1592, (which, it ſeems, from the Epiſtle to the Printer, was not in the firſt edition,) the author, Naſh, exclaims, "What a glorious thing it is

[3] *Lond.* 1592, 8vo.

[4] *Lond.* 1593, 4to. Eliot is almoſt the only *witty* grammarian that I have had the fortune to meet with. In his Epiſtle prefatory to *The Gallic Doctors of Gaule*, he cries out for perſecution, very like Jack in that moſt poignant of all Satires, the *Tale of a Tub*, "I pray you be readie quicklie to cauill at my booke, I beſeech you heartily calumniate my doings with ſpeede, I requeſt you humbly controll my method as ſoone as you may, I earneſtly entreat you hiſſe at my inventions," &c.

to have *Henry the Fifth* repreſented on the ſtage leading the *French King* priſoner, and forcing both him and the *Dolphin* to ſwear fealty!"—And it appears from the Jeſts of the famous comedian, Tarlton, 4to. 1611, that he had been particularly celebrated in the part of the Clown, in *Henry the Fifth*; but no ſuch character exiſts in the play of Shakſpeare. *Henry the Sixth* hath ever been doubted; and a paſſage in the above-quoted piece of Naſh may give us reaſon to believe, it was previous to our author. "Howe would it haue joyed braue Talbot (the terror of the French) to thinke that after he had lyen two hundred yeare in his toomb, he ſhould triumph again on the ſtage; and haue his bones now embalmed with the teares of ten thouſand ſpectators at leaſt (at ſeuerall times) who in the tragedian that repreſents his perſon, imagine they behold him freſh bleeding."——I have no doubt but *Henry the Sixth* had the ſame author with *Edward the Third*, which hath been recovered to the world in Mr. Capell's *Prolufions*.

It hath been obſerved, that the Giant of Rabelais is ſometimes alluded to by Shakſpeare: and in *his* time no tranſlation was extant.—But the ſtory was in every one's hand.

In a letter by one Laneham, or Langham, for the name is written differently,[5] concerning the entertainment at Killingwoorth Caſtle, printed 1575, we have a liſt of the vulgar romances of the age: "King Arthurz book, Huon of Burdeaus, Friar Rous, Howleglaſs, and GARGANTUA." Meres[6]

[5] It is indeed of no importance, but I ſuſpect the former to be right, as I find it corrupted afterward to *Lanam* and *Lanum*.

[6] This author by a pleaſant miſtake in ſome ſenſible *Conjectures on Shakſpeare* lately printed at Oxford, is quoted by the name of

mentions him as equally hurtful to young minds with the *Four Sons of Aymon*, and the *Seven Champions*. And John Taylor had him likewiſe in his catalogue of *authors*, prefixed to *Sir Gregory Nonſence*.[7]

But to come to a concluſion, I will give you an irrefragable argument, that Shakſpeare did *not* underſtand *two* very common words in the French and Latin languages.

According to the articles of agreement between the conqueror Henry and the king of France, the latter was to ſtyle the former, (in the corrected

Maiſter. Perhaps the title-page was imperfect; it runs thus: "Palladis Tamia. Wits Treaſury. Being the ſecond part of Wits Commonwealth, By *Francis Meres Maiſter* of Artes of both Univerſities."

I am glad out of gratitude to this man, who hath been of frequent ſervice to me, that I am enabled to perfect Wood's account of him; from the aſſiſtance of our *Maſter*'s very accurate liſt of graduates, (which it would do honour to the univerſity to print at the publick expenſe) and the kind information of a friend from the regiſter of his pariſh:—He was originally of Pembroke-Hall, B. A. in 1587, and M. A. 1591. About 1602 he became rector of Wing in Rutland; and died there, 1640, in the 81ſt year of his age.

[7] I have quoted many pieces of John Taylor, but it was impoſſible to give their original dates. He may be traced as an author for more than half a century. His works were collected in folio, 1630, but many were printed afterward; I will mention one for the humour of the title: "Drinke and welcome, or the famous Hiſtory of the moſt part of Drinkes in uſe in Greate Britaine and Ireland; with an eſpecial Declaration of the Potency, Vertue, and Operation of our Engliſh Ale: with a deſcription of all ſorts of *Waters*, from the *Ocean Sea* to the *Tears of a Woman*, 4to. 1633." In *Wits Merriment, or Laſſy Drollery*, 1656, we have an "Epitaph on John Taylor, who was born in the city of Glocester, and dyed in Phœnix Alley, in the 75 yeare of his age; you may find him, if the worms have not devoured him, in Covent Garden churchyard," p. 150.—He died about two years before.

French of the former editions,) " Noſtre *tres cher* ſilz Henry roy d' Angleterre; and in Latin, Præclariſſimus filius," &c. " What," ſays Dr. Warburton, " is *tres cher* in French, *præclariſsimus* in Latin! we ſhould read *præcariſsimus*."—This appears to be exceedingly true; but how came the blunder? it is a typographical one in Holinſhed, which Shakſpeare copied; but muſt indiſputably have corrected, had he been acquainted with the languages.—" Our ſaid father, during his life, ſhall name, call, and write us in French in this maner: Noſtre *tres chier* filz, Henry roy d'Engleterre—and in Latine in this maner, *Præclariſsimus* filius noſter." Edit. 1587, p. 574.

To corroborate this inſtance, let me obſerve to you, though it be nothing further to the purpoſe, that another error of the ſame kind hath been the ſource of a miſtake in an hiſtorical paſſage of our author, which hath ridiculouſly troubled the criticks.

Richard the Third[8] harangues his army before the battle of Boſworth:

[8] Some inquiry hath been made for the firſt performers of the capital characters in Shakſpeare.

We learn, that Burbage, the *alter Roſcius* of Camden, was the original *Richard*, from a paſſage in the poems of Biſhop Corbet; who introduces his hoſt at Boſworth deſcribing the battle:

" But when he would have ſaid King Richard died,
" And call'd *a horſe, a horſe*, he *Burbage* cried."

The play on this ſubject mentioned by Sir John Harrington in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, 1591, and ſometimes miſtaken for Shakſpeare's, was a Latin one, and written by Dr. Legge; and acted at St. John's in our univerſity, ſome years before 1588, the date of the copy in the Muſeum. This appears from a better MS. in our library at Emmanuel, with the names of the original performers.

It is evident from a paſſage in Camden's *Annals*, that there

" Remember whom ye are to cope withal,
" A fort of vagabonds, of rafcals, runaways—
" And who doth lead them but a paltry fellow
" Long kept in Britaine at *our mother's* coft,
" A milkfop," &c.——

" *Our* mother," Mr. Theobald perceives to be wrong, and Henry was fomewhere fecreted on the *continent:* he reads therefore, and all the editors after him,

" Long kept in Bretagne at *his* mother's coft."

But give me leave to tranfcribe a few more lines from Holinfhed, and you will find at once, that Shakfpeare had been there before me:——" Yee fee further, how a companie of traitors, theeves, outlaws and runnagates be aiders and partakers of his feat and enterprife.—And to begin with the erle of Richmond captaine of this rebellion, he is a Welfh milkfop—brought up by *my moother's* meanes and mine, like a captive in a clofe cage in the court of Francis duke of Britaine." P. 756.

Holinfhed copies this *verbatim* from his brother chronicler Hall, edit. 1548, fol. 54; but his printer hath given us by accident the word *moother* inftead of *brother*; as it is in the original, and ought to be in Shakfpeare.[9]

was an old play likewife on the fubject of *Richard the Second*; but I know not in what language. Sir Gelley Merrick, who was concerned in the harebrained bufinefs of the Earl of Eflex, and was hanged for it with the ingenious Cuffe, in 1601, is accufed amongft other things," quod *exoletam* Tragœdiam de tragicâ abdicatione Regis Ricardi Secundi in publico theatro coram conjuratis datâ pecuniâ agi curaffet."

[9] I cannot take my leave of Holinfhed without clearing up a difficulty, which hath puzzled his biographers. Nicholfon and other writers have *fuppofed* him a *clergyman*. Tanner goes

I hope, my good friend, you have by this time acquitted our great poet of all piratical depredations on the ancients, and are ready to receive my *concluſion*.—He remembered perhaps enough of his *ſchool-boy* learning to put the *Hig, hag, hog*, into the mouth of Sir Hugh Evans; and might pick up in the writers of the time,[1] or the courſe of his converſation, a familiar phraſe or two of French or Italian: but his *ſtudies* were moſt demonſtratively confined to *nature* and *his own language*.

In the courſe of this diſquiſition, you have often ſmiled at "all ſuch reading, as was never read;" and poſſibly I may have indulged it too far: but it is the reading neceſſary for a comment on Shakſpeare. Thoſe who apply ſolely to the ancients for this purpoſe, may with equal wiſdom ſtudy the TALMUD for an expoſition of TRISTRAM SHANDY. Nothing but an intimate acquaintance with the

further, and tells us, that he was educated at Cambridge, and actually took the degree of M. A. in 1544. Yet it appears by his will, printed by Hearne, that at the end of life he was only a *ſteward* or a *ſervant* in ſome capacity or other, to Thomas Burdett, Eſq. of Bromcote, in Warwickſhire.—Theſe things Dr. Campbell could not reconcile. The truth is, we have no claim to the education of the *Chronicler*: the M. A. in 1544, was not *Raphael*, but one *Ottiwell Holingshed*, who was afterward named by the founder one of the firſt Fellows of Trinity College.

[1] Aſcham in the Epiſtle prefixed to his *Toxophilus*, 1571, obſerves of them, that "Manye Engliſhe writers, uſinge ſtraunge wordes, as *Lattine, Frenche*, and *Italian*, do make all thinges darke and harde. Ones," ſays he, "I communed with a man which reaſoned the Engliſhe tongue to be enriched and encreaſed thereby, ſayinge: Who will not prayſe that feaſt, where a man ſhall drincke at a dinner both wyne, ale, and beere? Truly (quoth I) they be al good, eury one taken by himſelfe alone, but, if you put Malmeſye and ſacke, redde wyne and white, ale and beere, and al in one pot, you ſhall make a drinke neither ſaſye to be knowen, nor yet holſome for the bodye."

writers of the time, who are frequently of no other value, can point out his allufions, and afcertain his phrafeology. The reformers of his text are for ever equally pofitive, and equally wrong. The cant of the age, a provincial expreffion, an obfcure proverb, an obfolete cuftom, a hint at a perfon or a fact no longer remembered, hath continually defeated the beft of our *gueffers:* You muft not fuppofe me to fpeak at random, when I affure you, that from fome forgotten book or other, I can demonftrate this to you in many hundred places; and I almoft wifh, that I had not been perfuaded into a different employment.

Though I have as much of the *natale folum*[2] about me, as any man whatfoever; yet, I own, the *primrofe path* is ftill more pleafing than the *Foffe* or the *Watling Street:*

> " Age cannot wither it, nor cuftom ftale
> " Its infinite variety.———"

And when I am fairly rid of the duft of topographical antiquity, which hath continued much longer about me than I expected; you may very probably be troubled again with the ever fruitful fubject of SHAKSPEARE and his COMMENTATORS.

[2] This alludes to an intended publication of the *Antiquities of the Town of Leiceſter.* The work was juſt begun at the preſs, when the writer was called to the principal tuition of a large college, and was obliged to decline the undertaking. The plates, however, and ſome of the materials have been long ago put into the hands of a gentleman, who is every way qualified to make a proper uſe of them.

APPENDIX

TO

MR. COLMAN'S TRANSLATION OF TERENCE.

(OCTAVO EDITION.)

THE reverend and ingenious Mr. Farmer, in his curious and entertaining *Eſſay on the Learning of Shakſpeare*, having done me the honour to animadvert on ſome paſſages in the preface to this tranſlation, I cannot diſmiſs this edition without declaring how far I coincide with that gentleman; although what I then threw out careleſsly on the ſubject of this pamphlet was merely incidental, nor did I mean to enter the liſts as a champion to defend either ſide of the queſtion.

It is moſt true, as Mr. Farmer takes for granted, that I had never met with the old comedy called *The Suppoſes*, nor has it ever yet fallen into my hands; yet I am willing to grant, on Mr. Farmer's authority, that Shakſpeare borrowed part of the plot of *The Taming of the Shrew*, from that old tranſlation of Arioſto's play by George Gaſcoign, and had no obligations to Plautus. I will accede alſo to the truth of Dr. Johnſon's and Mr. Farmer's obſervation, that the line from Terence, exactly as it ſtands in Shakſpeare, is extant in Lilly and Udall's *Floures for Latin Speaking*. Still, however, Shak-

ſpeare's total ignorance of the learned languages remains to be proved; for it muſt be granted, that ſuch books are put into the hands of thoſe who are learning thoſe languages, in which claſs we muſt neceſſarily rank Shakſpeare, or he could not even have quoted Terence from Udall or Lilly; nor is it likely, that ſo rapid a genius ſhould not have made ſome further progreſs. "Our author," ſays Dr. Johnſon, as quoted by Mr. Farmer, "had this line from Lilly; which I mention, that it may not be brought as an argument of his learning." It is, however, an argument that he read Lilly; and a few pages further it ſeems pretty certain, that the author of *The Taming of the Shrew* had at leaſt read Ovid: from whoſe Epiſtle we find theſe lines:

"Hâc ibat Simois; hic eſt Sigeïa tellus;
"Hic ſteterat Priami regia celſa ſenis."

And what does Dr. Johnſon ſay on this occaſion? Nothing. And what does Mr. Farmer ſay on this occaſion? Nothing.[3]

In *Love's Labour's Loſt*, which, bad as it is, is aſcribed by Dr. Johnſon himſelf to Shakſpeare, there occurs the word *thraſonical*; another argument which ſeems to ſhow that he was not unacquainted with the comedies of Terence; not to mention, that the character of the ſchoolmaſter in the ſame play could not poſſibly be written by a man who had travelled no further in Latin than *hic, hæc, hoc*.

[3] "Colman, in a note on his tranſlation of Terence, talking of Shakſpeare's Learning, aſks, 'What ſays Farmer to this? What ſays Johnſon?' Upon this he obſerved, 'Sir, let Farmer anſwer for himſelf: I never engaged in this controverſy. I always ſaid Shakſpeare had Latin enough to grammaticiſe his Engliſh." Boſwell's *Life of Dr. Johnſon*, Vol. III. 204.

In *Henry the Sixth* we meet with a quotation from Virgil:

"Tantæne animis cœleſtibus iræ?"

But this, it ſeems, proves nothing, any more than the lines from Terence and Ovid, in *The Taming of the Shrew*; for Mr. Farmer looks on Shakſpeare's property in the comedy to be extremely diſputable; and he has no doubt but *Henry the Sixth* had the ſame author with *Edward the Third*, which had been recovered to the world in Mr. Capell's Proluſions.

If any play in the collection bears internal evidence of Shakſpeare's hand, we may fairly give him *Timon of Athens*. In this play we have a familiar quotation from Horace:

"Ira furor brevis eſt."

I will not maintain but this hemiſtich may be found in Lilly or Udall: or that it is not in the *Palace of Pleaſure*, or the *Engliſh Plutarch*; or that it was not originally foiſted in by the players: it ſtands, however, in the play of *Timon of Athens*.

The world in general, and thoſe who purpoſe to comment on Shakſpeare in particular, will owe much to Mr. Farmer, whoſe reſearches into our old authors throw a luſtre on many paſſages, the obſcurity of which muſt elſe have been impenetrable. No future Upton or Gildon will go further than North's tranſlation for Shakſpeare's acquaintance with Plutarch, or balance between Dares Phrygius, and *The Troye Booke of Lydgate*. *The Hyſtorie of Hamblet*, in *black letter*, will for ever ſuperſede *Saxo Grammaticus*; tranſlated novels and ballads will, perhaps, be allowed the ſources of

Romeo, *Lear*, and *The Merchant of Venice*; and Shakſpeare himſelf, however unlike Bayes in other particulars, will ſtand convicted of having *tranſverſed* the proſe of Holinſhed; and, at the ſame time, to prove "that his *ſtudies* lay in his own language," the tranſlations of Ovid are determined to be the production of Heywood.

"That his *ſtudies* were moſt demonſtratively confined to *nature*, and his *own language*," I readily allow: but does it hence follow that he was ſo deplorably ignorant of every other tongue, living or dead, that he only "remembered, perhaps, enough of his *ſchool-boy* learning to put the *hig*, *hag*, *hog*, into the mouth of Sir H. Evans; and might pick up in the writers of the time, or the courſe of his converſation, a familiar phraſe or two of French or Italian." In Shakſpeare's plays both theſe laſt languages are plentifully ſcattered; but, then we are told, they might be impertinent additions of the players. Undoubtedly they might: but there they are, and, perhaps, few of the players had much more learning than Shakſpeare.

Mr. Farmer himſelf will allow that Shakſpeare began to learn Latin: I will allow that his *ſtudies* lay in Engliſh: but why inſiſt that he neither made any progreſs at ſchool; nor improved his acquiſitions there? The general encomiums of Suckling, Denham, Milton, &c. on his *native genius*,[4] prove

[4] Mr. Farmer cloſes the general teſtimonies of Shakſpeare's having been only indebted to nature, by ſaying, "He came out of her hand, *as ſome one elſe expreſſes it*, like Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth and mature." It is whimſical enough, that this *ſome one elſe*, whoſe expreſſion is here quoted to countenance the general notion of Shakſpeare's want of literature, ſhould be no other than myſelf. Mr. Farmer does not chooſe to mention where he met with the expreſſion of *ſome one elſe*;

nothing; and Ben Jonſon's celebrated charge of Shakſpeare's *ſmall Latin, and leſs Greek*,[5] ſeems abſolutely to decide that he had *ſome* knowledge of both; and if we may judge by our own time, a man, who has any Greek, is ſeldom without a very competent ſhare of Latin; and yet ſuch a man is very likely to ſtudy Plutarch in Engliſh, and to read tranſlations of Ovid.

See Dr. Farmer's reply to theſe remarks by Mr. Colman, in a note on Love's Labour's Lost, *Act IV. ſc. ii. Vol. VII. p.* 87.

and *ſome one elſe* does not chooſe to mention where he dropt it.*

[5] In defence of the various reading of this paſſage, given in the Preface to the laſt edition of Shakſpeare, "ſmall Latin and *no* Greek," Mr. Farmer tells us, that "it was adopted above a century ago by W. Towers, in a panegyrick on Cartwright." Surely, Towers having ſaid that Cartwright had *no* Greek, is no proof that Ben Jonſon ſaid ſo of Shakſpeare.

* It will appear ſtill more whimſical that this *some one elſe* whoſe expreſſion is here quoted, may have his claim to it ſuperſeded by that of the late Dr. Young, who in his *Conjectures on Original Compoſition*, (p. 100, Vol. V. edit. 1773,) has the following ſentence: "An adult genius comes out of nature's hands, as Pallas out of Jove's head, at full growth and mature. Shakſpeare's genius was of this kind." Where *some one elſe* the *firſt* may have intermediately dropped the conteſted expreſſion I cannot aſcertain; but *some one elſe* the *ſecond* tranſcribed it from the author already mentioned. Anon.

ANCIENT TRANSLATIONS

FROM

CLASSICK AUTHORS.[6]

HOMER.

TEN Bookes of Homer's Iliades tranſlated out of French, by Arthur Hall, Eſquire. At London. Imprinted by Ralph Newberie, 4to.[7] 1581

The Shield of Achilles from the 18th Book of Homer, by Geo. Chapman, 4to. Lond. 1596

Seven Books of the Iliades, by ditto, 4to.[8] Lond. 1596

D°. — — — 1598

[6] This Liſt was drawn up by Mr. Steevens. I have made a few inconſiderable additions to it, which are diſtinguiſhed by this mark ‡. MALONE.

[7] In the firſt Vol. of the books of entries belonging to the Stationers' Company, is the following:

"Henry Bynneman.] Nov. 1580, lycenſed unto him under the wardens' handes ten bookes of the Iliades of Homer." Again, "Samuel Macham.] Nov. 14, 1608. Seven bookes of Homer's Iliades tranſlated into Engliſh by Geo. Chapman.—[By aſſignment from Mr. Windett.]" Again, "Nathaniel Butter.] April 8, 1611, A booke called Homer's Iliades in Engliſhe, containing 24 Bookes." Again, "Nov. 2, 1614, Homer's Odiſſes 24 bookes, tranſlated by George Chapman."

[8] Meres, in his *Second Part of Wits Commonwealth*, ſays that Chapman is "of good note for his inchoate Homer."

Thomas Drant, (the tranſlator of two books of Horace's Satires, 1566,) in a miſcellany of Latin poetry, entitled SYLVA, informs us, that he had begun to tranſlate the *Iliad*, but had gone no further than the fourth Book.

‡ Homer Prince of Poets: tranſlated according to the Greeke in Twelve Bookes of his Iliads: By Geo. Chapman; ſmall folio. Lond. printed for Samuel Macham. *No date.*

[This, I believe, was publiſhed in 1609. There are ſeveral Sonnets at the end, addreſſed to different noblemen; among them one, "to the *Lord Treaſurer*, the Earle of Saliſbury." See alſo the entry below.]

Fifteen Books of D°. thin folio — 1600

[The Iliads of Homer, Prince of Poets. Neuer before in any languag truely tranſlated, with a Coment uppon ſome of his chiefe places; Donne according to the Greeke. By George Chapman. At London, printed for Nathaniel Butter. William Hole ſculp. [This edition contains the 24 Books.]

[At the back of the engraved title-page (for the Head of Chapman was not placed there, till the edition of 1614,) in Mr. Steevens's copy is the following inſcription in the hand-writing of the Tranſlator: "In wittneſs of his beſt Loue, borne to his beſt-deſeruing freinde, Mr. Henrye Jones; Geo: Chapman giues him theiſe fruites of his beſt Labors, and deſires Loue betwixt us, as longe-liu'd as Homer."]

[From the Stationers' Regiſter it appears that this book, ſmall folio, was printed in 1611. See note 7. The Prince of Wales, to whom the work is dedicated, died Nov. 6, 1612. In the republication (1614) it is inſcribed, on an additional engraved frontiſpiece, to his *Memory*.]

The whole Works of Homer; Prince of Poetts. In his Iliads and Odyſſes. Tranſlated according to the Greeke, by Geo. Chapman. De Ili: et Odiſs:

Omnia ab his; et in his ſunt omnia: ſive beati
Te decor eloquii, ſeu rerũ pondera tangunt.
Angel. Pol.

At London, printed for Nathaniell Butter. William Hole, ſculp.

[This book was probably printed in 1614.]

The large head of Geo. Chapman is placed at the back of the engraved title-page.

The Crowne of all Homer's Works, Batrachomymachia, &c. *[By Geo. Chapman, with his portrait by W. Paſs, in the title-page.] thin folio; printed by John Bill. *No date.*

The ſtrange wonderfull and bloudy Battel betweene Frogs and Miſe; paraphraſtically done into Engliſh Heroycall Verſe, by W. F. (i. e. William Fowldes,) 4to. — — 1603

HESIOD.

The Georgicks of Heſiod, by George Chapman; Tranſlated elaborately out of the Greek: Containing Doctrine of Huſbandrie, Moralitie, and Pietie; with a perpetual Calendar of Good and Bad Daies; Not ſuperſtitious, but neceſſarie (as farre as naturall Cauſes compell) for all men to obſerve, and difference in following their affaires. *Nec caret umbra Deo.* London, Printed by H. L. for Miles Partrich, and are to be ſolde at his Shop neare Saint Dunſtans Church in Fleetſtreet. — 1618

[This title-page is given at full length, becauſe the exiſtence of the book it belongs to (which

* In the firſt Volume of the Entries of the Stationers' Company is the following:

"T. Purfoote.] The Battel of the Frogges and Myce, and certain orations of Iſocrates." Jan. 4, 1579.

is in Mr. Steevens's poſſeſſion) has been queſtioned by the late Mr. Warton, *Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. III, p. 446.]

MUSÆUS.

Marlowe's Hero and Leander, with the firſt Book of Lucan, 4to. — — 1600

There muſt have been a former Edition,[1] *as a ſecond Part was publiſhed by Henry Petowe,* 1598

Muſæus's Poem of Hero and Leander, imitated by Chriſtopher Marlow, and finiſhed by Geo. Chapman, 4to. Lond. — 1606

EURIPIDES.

Jocaſta, a tragedy, from the Phœniſſæ of Euripides,

[1] This tranſlation, or at leaſt Marlowe's part in it, muſt have been publiſhed before 1599, being twice mentioned in Naſh's *Lenten Stuff*, &c. which bears that date. "*Leander* and *Hero*, of whom divine *Muſæus* ſung, and a diviner muſe than him, *Kit Marlow*." Again, "She ſprung after him, and ſo reſigned up her prieſthood, and left worke for *Muſæus* and *Kit Marlow*."

Among the entries at Stationers' Hall I find the following made by John Wolfe in 1593, Sept. 8th. "A booke entitled Hero and Leander, being an amorous poem deviſed by Chriſtopher Marlow."

At the ſame time, "Lucan's firſt book of the famous Cyvill Warr betwixt Pompey and Cæſar, Engliſhed by Chriſtopher Marlow."

Again, in 1597, "A booke in Engliſh called Hero and Leander."

Again, April 1598, "The ſeconde Parte of Hero and Leander by Henry Petowe." Andrew Harris entered it.

Again, in 1600, "Hero and Leander by Marlowe."

In 1614 an entire tranſlation of Lucan was publiſhed by Sir Arthur Gorges, and entered as ſuch on the ſame books.

by Geo. Gaſcoigne, and Mr. Francis Kinwelmerſhe, 4to. Lond. — — 1556

PLATO.

Axiochus, a Dialogue, attributed to Plato, by Edm. Spenſer, 4to.[a] — — — 1592

DEMOSTHENES.

The three Orations of Demoſthenes, chiefe Orator among the Grecians, in favour of the Olynthians, with thoſe his fower againſt Philip of Macedon, &c. by Tho. Wylſon, Doctor of the Civill Lawes, 4to. — — 1570

ISOCRATES.

Iſocrates's ſage admonition to Demonicus, by R. Nutthall, 8vo. Lond. 1557, 12mo. and 1585

Iſocrates's Doctrinal of Princes, by Syr Tho. Elliot, Lond. 8vo. — — 1534

Iſocrates's Orat. intitled Evagoras, by Jer. Wolfe, 8vo. — — — 1581

Three Orations of moral Inſtructions, one to Demonicus, and two to Nicocles, King of Salamis, tranſlated from Iſocrates, by Tho. Forreſt, 4to. 1580

LUCIAN.

Necromantia, a Dialog of the Poete Lucyen betweene Menippus and Philonides, for his Fantaſye faynd for a mery Paſtyme, in Engliſh Verſe and Latin Proſe.

[a] This book was entered in May, 1592, at Stationers' Hall.

Toxaris, or the Friendſhip of Lucian, by A. O. Lond. 8vo. — — 1565

HERODOTUS.

The famous Hyſtory of Herodotus,[3] in nine Bookes, &c. by B. R. Lond. — 1584

N. B. *This Piece contains only the two firſt Books, viz. the Clio and Euterpe. The Tranſlator ſays in his Preface, "As theſe ſpeede, ſo the reſt will follow." 4to.*

THUCYDIDES.

The Hiſtory writtone by Thucydides, &c. tranſlated out of the Frenche of Claude de Seyſſel, Biſhop of Marſeilles, into the Engliſhe languaage, by Tho. Nicolls, Citizeine and Goldſmyth of London, fol. — — 1550[4]

POLYBIUS.

Hyſtories of the moſt famous and worthy Cronographer, Polybius, by Chriſtopher Watſon, 8vo. 1568

This Work conſiſts of extracts only.

[3] Among the entries in the books at Stationers' Hall this appears to be one:

"John Denham.] The famous Hiſtorye of Herodotus in Englythe, June 13, 1581."

[4] On the Stationers' books in 1607 either this or ſome other tranſlation is entered, called "The Hiſtory of Thucidides the Athenian tranſlated into Engliſh."

DIODORUS SICULUS.[5]

The Hiſtory of the Succeſſors of Alexander, &c. out of Diodorus Siculus and Plutarch, by Tho. Stocker. Lond. 4to. — 1569

APPIAN.

An auncient Hyſtorie, &c. by Appian[6] of Alexandria, tranſlated out of diverſe Languages, &c. by W. B. 4to. Lond. — 1578

JOSEPHUS.

Joſephus's Hiſtory, &c. tranſlated into Engliſh, by Tho. Lodge, fol. Lond. 1602—1609, &c.

ÆLIAN.

Ælian's Regiſtre of Hyſtories, by Abraham Fleming, 4to. — — — 1576

HERODIAN.

The Hiſtorie of Herodian, &c. tranſl. oute of Greeke into Latin, by Angelus Politianus, and out of Latin into Englyſhe, by Nych. Smyth.

[illegible]on tells us, that "Skelton had tranſlated *Diodorus Si-*[illegible] *Epiſtles of Tulle*, and diverſe other Workes;" but I know not that they were ever printed.

[6] In the firſt Volume of the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company, Feb. 5, 1577, is the following:

"Henry Binneman.] Appianus Alexandrinus of the Romaine Civill Warres."

Imprinted at London, by William Copland, 4to.[7]

PLUTARCH.

Plutarch's Lives,[8] by Sir Tho. North, from the Fr. of Amyot, Biſhop of Auxerre, fol. 1579, 1602, 1603

Plutarch's Morals, by Dr. Philemon Holland, 1603[9]

Plutarch of the Education of Children, by Sir Tho. Elyott, 4to.

The Preceptes of that excellent Clerke and grave Philoſopher, Plutarche, for the Preſervation of Healthe, 8vo. — — 1543

ARISTOTLE.

The Ethiques of Ariſtotle, &c. by John Wylkinſon. Printed by Grafton, Printer to King Edw. VI. 8vo. B. L. — — 1547[1]

The Secrete of Secretes of Ariſtotle, &c. tranſlated out of the Frenche, &c. Lond. 8vo. 1528

[7] Oct. 1591, *Herodian in Engliſh* was entered at Stationers' Hall by —— Adams.

[8] Thus entered in the books of the Stationers' Company:

"April 1579—Vautrouller—Wright, a booke in Engliſhe called Plutarch's Lyves."

[9] On the Stationers' books in the year 1600 is the following entry:

"A booke to be tranſlated out of French into Engliſhe, and ſo printed, called the Morall Woorkes of Plutarque." Again, in 1602. Again, in the ſame year, "The moral worke of Plutarque, being tranſlated out of French into Engliſh."

[1] Of the *Ethicks of Ariſtotle* ſome more early tranſlation muſt have appeared; as Sir Tho. Elyot, in his *Boke named the Governour*, 1537, ſays, "they are to be learned in Greke; for *the tranſlations that we have*, be but a rude and groſſe ſhadowe of the eloquence and wyſdome of Ariſtotle."

Ariſtotle's Politiques, &c.[2] from the Fr. by J. D. fol. Lond. — — — 1598

XENOPHON.

The eight Bookes of Xenophon, containing the Inſtitution, Schole, and Education of Cyrus, the noble King of Perſye, &c. tranſl. out of Gr. into Engl. by Mr. William Bercher, Lond. 12mo. — — 1567 and 1569

D°. by Dr. Philemon Holland.

Xenophon's Treatiſe of Houſe-hold, right connyngly tranſl. out of the Greke tongue, &c. by Gentian Hervet, &c. 8vo. Lond. 1532, 8vo. 1534 1544, 8vo. 1573

The Arte of Riding from Xenophon, &c. Lond. 4to. — — — 1584

EPICTETUS.[3]

The Manuell of Epictetus, tranſl. out of Greek into French, and now into Engliſh, &c. Alſo the Apothegmes, &c. by James Sandford, Lond. 12mo. — — 1567

CEBES.

The Table of Cebes, the Philoſopher. How one may take profite of his ennemies. Tranſlated out of Plutarche.

[2] This tranſlation is entered in the books at Stationers' Hall. "Adam Iſlip.] Ariſtotle's Politiques with expoſitions; to be tranſlated into Engliſhe by the French copie, 1598."

[3] In the books of the Stationers' Company, Feb. 12, 1581, Tho. Eaſte entered Enchiridon in Engliſh.

A Treatiſe perſwadyng a man paciently to ſuffer the Death of a Freend. Imprynted at London, in Fleteſtreete by Thomas Berthelet.

EUNAPIUS SARDIANUS.[4]

The Lyves of Philoſophers and Orators, from the Greek of Eunapius, 4to. — 1579

ACHILLES TATIUS.

The moſt delectable and pleaſant Hiſt. of Clitophon and Leucippe, from the Greek of Achilles Tatius, &c. by W. B. 4to. — 1597[5]

M. ANTONINUS.[6]

The Golden Boke of Marcus Aurelius, Emperour and eloquent Orator, 12mo. Lond. 1553
Tranſlated out of Fr. into Eng. by Sir John Bourchier, Kt. &c. &c.

[4] Thus entered in the books of the Stationers' Company. "Richard Jones.] The Lives of divers excellent Orators and Philoſophers written in Greeke by Enapius of the city of Sardis in Lydia, and tranſlated into Engliſhe by ———."

[5] This book was entered in the ſame year by Thomas Creede, on the books of the Stationers' Company.

[6] This book is only introduced, that an opportunity may be obtained of excluding it from any future catalogue of tranſlated claſſicks. It was a fraud of Guevara's, but not undetected; for Chapman, in his *Gentleman Uſher*, 1602, ſpeaks of the book as *Guevara's* own. "If there be not more choice words in that letter, than in any three of *Guevara's Golden Epiſtles*, I am a very aſs." See his article in Bayle. Our countryman Elyott did ſomewhat of the ſame kind. He pretended to tranſlate the Actes and Sentences notable, of the Emperor *Alexander Severus* (from the Greek of Encolpius). See Fabricius' and Tanner's *Bibliothec.* &c.

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Other editions of this are in 1534, 1535, 1536, 1537, 1559, 1586, 1588.

DIONYSIUS.

Dionyſius's Deſcription of the Worlde. Englyſhed by Tho. Twyne, 8vo. Lond. — 1572

EUCLID.

Euclid's Elements of Geometry, tranſl. into Engl. by Rich. Candiſh who flouriſhed, A. D. 1556
Euclid's Elements, Pref. by John Dee, Lond. 1570

HIPPOCRATES.

The Aphoriſmes of Hippocrates, redacted into a certaine Order, and tranſlated by Humfrie Llhyd, 8vo. — — 1585
See Granger's *Biographical Hiſtory*, Vol. I. p. 270.

GALEN.

Galen's Two Books of Elements, tranſlated into Engl. by J. Jones, 4to. Lond. — 1574
Certayne Workes of Galen, englyſhed by Tho. Gale, 4to. — — 1586

HELIODORUS.

The Beginning of Æthiopical Hiſtory in Engl. Hexameters, by Abrah. Fraunce, 8vo. Lond. 1591[7]
Heliodorus's Æthiopic Hiſt. tranſl. by Tho. Underdown, B. L. 4to. Lond. 1577 and 1587

[7] A tranſlation of the ſame book is likewiſe entered at Stationers' Hall, 1602, and again twice in 1604, for different printers.

ÆSOP.

Eſop's Fables in true Orthography, with Grammar notes, tranſlated out of the Latin by William Bullaker, B. L. 8vo. — — 1585

VIRGIL.

The Boke of Eneydos, &c. by Caxton, fol. Lond. *proſe* — — — 1490

The thirteen Bukes of Eneados in Scottiſh Metir, by Gawin Douglas, 4to. Lond. 1553

Certaine Bookes of Virgiles Æneis[8] turned into Engliſh Metir, by the right honourable Lorde, Henry Earle of Surrey, 4to. Lond. 1557

The firſt ſeven Bookes of the Eneidos, by Phaer, Lond. 4to. B. L. — — 1558

This Tranſlation is in rhyme of fourteen ſyllables.

The nine firſt Bookes, &c. by Phaer,[9] 4to. Lond. 1562

[8] This is a tranſlation of the ſecond and fourth books into blank verſe, and is perhaps the oldeſt ſpecimen of that metre in the Engliſh language.

[9] The following "Epytaphe of Maiſter Thomas Phayre," is found in a very ſcarce book entitled "Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes. Newly written by *Barnabe Googe*, 1563, 15 Marche. Imprynted at London by Thomas Colwell, for Raffe Newbery, dwelyng in Fleteſtrete a little aboue the Conduit in the late ſhop of Thomas Bartelet."

"The hawtye verſe yt *Maro* wrote
"made Rome to wonder muche,
"And meruayle none, for why the ſtyle
"And weightynes was ſuche,
"That all men iudged *Parnaſſus* mownt
"had cleſte her ſelfe in twayne,
"And brought forth one that ſeemd to drop
"from out *Mineruaies* brayne.

The thirteene Bookes of Eneidos, by Phaer and Twine, 4to. Lond. 1584, 1596, 1607, &c.[1]

The firſt four Bookes of Virgil's Æneis, tranſlated into Engl. heroic Verſe, by Richard Stanyhurſt,[2] &c. 12mo. Lond. — — 1583

The Bucolickes of Publius Virgilius Maro, &c. by

" But wonder more maye Bryttayne great
" wher *Phayre* did floryſh late,
" And barreyne tong with ſwete accord
" reduced to ſuch eſtate:
" That *Virgils* verſe hath greater grace
" in forrayne foote obtaynde,
" Than in his own, who whilſt he lyued
" eche other poets ſtaynde.
" The noble H. *Hawarde* once,
" that raught eternall fame,
" With mighty ſtyle did bryng a pece
" of *Virgils* worke in frame,
" And *Grimaold* gaue the lyke attempt,
" and *Douglas* wan the ball,
" Whoſe famouſe wyt in Scottyſh ryme
" had made an ende of all.
" But all theſe fame dyd *Phayre* excell
" I dare preſume to wryte,
" As muche as doth *Apolloes* beames
" the dymmeſt ſtarre in lyght.
" The ennyous fates (O pytie great)
" had great diſdayne to ſe
" That us amongſt there ſhuld remayn
" ſo fyne a wyt as he:
" And in the midſt of all his toyle
" dyd force him hence to wende,
" And leane a worke unperfyt ſo
" that never man ſhall ende."

[1] Among the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company, is the following. "Tho. Creede] Virgil's Æneidos in Engliſhe verſe." 1595." Again, in 1600. Again, his Bucolics and [illegible] in the ſame year.

[2] The copy which I have ſeen, was in 4to. printed at Leiden, and was entered as ſuch on the books of the Stationers' on the 24th of January, 1582.

Abraham Fleming, drawn into plaine and familiar Englyſhe, Verſe for Verſe, 4to. B. L. 1575

The two firſt Eclogues of Virgil. By W. Webbe; inſerted in his Diſcourſe of Englyſh Poetrie. 1586

Virgil's Eclogues and Georgicks, tranſlated into blank Verſe by the ſame Author, Lond. 1589

The Lamentation of Corydon for the love of Alexis, Verſe for Verſe, out of Latine.

This is tranſlated into Engliſh Hexameters, and printed at the end of the Counteſse of Pembroke's Ivychurch, 1591. *By Abraham Fraunce, 4to. bl. l.*

Virgil's Culex paraphraſed, by Spenſer. See his works.

HORACE.

The fyrſt twoo Satars or poyſes of Orace, Engliſhed, by Lewes Euans, ſchole-maſter. 1564

Two Bookes of Horace his Satyres Englyſhed, accordyng to the Preſcription of Saint Hierome, 4to. B. L. Lond. — — 1566

Horace his Arte of Poetrie, Piſtles[3] and Satyrs Engliſhed, by Tho. Drant, 4to. Lond. 1567

Horace's Art of Poetry was alſo tranſlated looſely into proſe by W. Webbe, together with Epiſtles *ad Mecænatem* &c. in his Diſcourſe of Engliſh Poetrie — — 1586

OVID.

The fifteene Bookes of Metamorphoſeos. In which

[3] There is an entry at Stationers' Hall of the Epiſtles of Horace in 1591.

ben contaynid the Fables of Ovid, by William Caxton, Weſtm. fol. — — 1480

The four firſt Books of Ovid, tranſl. from the Latin into Engliſh Meetre, by Arthur Golding, Gent. 4to. B. L. Lond. — — 1565

‡The fifteen Bookes of P. Ovidius Naſo, &c. by Arthur Golding, 4to. Bl. L. Lond. 1567

D°. — — — — 1576

[*Another in* 1575 *according to Ames. A former Edition was in* 1572, *in Rawlinſon's catal.*

D°. — — 1587, D°. 1612

The pleaſant Fable of Hermaphroditus and Salmacis, 8vo. Lond. — — 1565

The Fable of Ovid treating of Narciſſus, tranſl. out of Latin into Engl. Mytre, with a Moral ther unto very pleſant to rede, 4to. Lond. 1590

The Heroycall Epiſtles, &c. ſet out and tranſlated by Geo. Turbervile, Gent. &c. B. L. 12mo. Lond.[4] — 1567, 1569, and 1600

The three firſt Bookes of Ovid de Triſtibus, tranſl. into Engliſh, by Tho. Churchyard, 4to. Lond. 1580[5]

Ovid his Invective againſt Ibis, tranſlated into Eng. Meeter, &c. 12mo. Lond. — 1569[6]

And, by Tho. Underwood — 1577

Certaine of Ovid's Elegies by C. Marlow,[7] 12mo. At Middleburgh. — — *no date.*

[4] Among the Stationers' entries I find in 1594, "A booke entitled *Oenone and Paris*, wherein is deſcribed the extremity of love," &c. This may be a tranſlation from Ovid.

[5] This book was entered at Stationers' Hall by Tho. Eaſte, July 1, 1577, and by Thomas Orwin in 1591.

[6] Among the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company is the following: "Henry Bynneman.] July 1, 1577, *Ovid's Invective againſt Ibis.* Bought of Thomas Eaſte."

[7] In the forty-firſt of Queen Elizabeth theſe tranſlations from

All Ovid's Elegies, three Bookes. By C. M. At Middleburgh, 12mo. Somewhat larger than the preceding edition.

‡Ovidius Naſo, his Remedy of love, tranſlated and entituled to the youth of England, 4to. 1600

Salmacis and Hermaphroditus, by Fra. Beaumont, 4to. — — — 1602

He likewiſe tranſlated a Part of the Remedy of Love. *There was another Tranſlation of the whole, by Sir Tho. Overbury*, 8vo. *without date.*[8]

"I learn (ſays the Rev. Tho. Warton, *Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 415,) from Coxeter's notes, that the FASTI were tranſlated into Engliſh verſe before the year 1570."

PLAUTUS.

Menæchmi, by W. W. Lond.[9] — 1595

MARTIAL.

Flowers of Epigrams (from Martial particularly) by Tim. Kendall, 8vo.[1] — 1577

TERENCE.

Terens in Englyſh, or the tranſlacyon out of Latin

Ovid were commanded by the Archbiſhop of Canterbury and the Biſhop of London, to be burnt at Stationers' Hall.

[8] On the books of the Stationers' Company, Dec. 23, 1590, is entered, *Ovidius Naſo his Remedy of Love.* Again, in the ſame year, *Ovydes Epiſtles in Engliſhe*, and *Ovydes Metamorphoſis in Englyſhe.*

[9] This piece was entered at Stationers' Hall June 10th, 1594. In 1520, viz. the 11th year of Henry VIII. it appears from Holinſhed that a comedy of Plautus was played before the King.

[1] Entered at Stationers' Hall, Feb. 1576.

into Engliſh of the firſt comedy of Tyrens callyd Andria. *Suppoſed to be printed by J. Raſtell.*[2]

[2] As the following metrical introduction to this play, relates chiefly to the improvements at that time ſuppoſed to have been made in the Engliſh language, I could not prevail on myſelf to ſuppreſs it:

THE POET.

" The famous renown through the worlde is ſprong
" Of poetys ornate that usyd to indyte
" Of dyvers matters in theyr nſoder tong
" Some toke upon them tranſlacions to wryte
" Some to compile bokys for theyr delyte
" But in our Engliſh tong for to ſpeke playn
" I rede but of few have take any gret payn.

" Except maſter Gowre which furſt began
" And of moralite wrote ryght craftely
" Than maſter Chaucer that excellent man
" Which wrote as compendious as elygantly
" As in any other tong ever dyd any
" Ludgate alſo which adournyd our tong
" Whoſe noble famys through the world be ſprong.

" By theſe men our tong is amplyfyed ſo,
" That we therin now tranſlate as well as may
" As in eny other tongis other can do.
" Yet the Greke tong and Laten dyvers men ſay
" Have many wordys can not be Englyſhid this day
" So lyke wyſe in Englyſh many wordys do habound
" That no Greke nor Laten for them can be found.

" And the cauſe that our tong is ſo plenteouſe now
" For we kepe our Englyſh contynually
" And of other tongis many wordis we borow
" Which now for Englyſh we uſe and occupy
" Theſe thingis have given corage gretly
" To dyvers and ſpecyally now of late
" To them that this comedy have tranſlate.

" Which all diſcrete men now do beſeech
" And ſpecyally lernyd men to take no dyſdayn
" Though this be compylyd in our vulgare ſpech
" Yet lernyng thereby ſome men may attayn
" For they that in this comedy have take payn

Andria, the firſt Comedy of Terence, by Maurice Kyffin, 4to. — — — 1588
Terence in Engliſh, by Richard Bernard, 4to. Cambridge.[3] — — — 1598
Flowers of Terence. — — 1591

SENECA.

Seneca his Tenne Tragedies,[4] tranſlated into Engliſh by different Tranſlators, 4to. Lond. 1581
A frutefull worke of Lucius Anneus Seneca, named

" Pray you to correct where faut ſhall be found
" And of our matter ſo here is the ground."

In the metrical peroration to this piece, is the following ſtanza:

" Wherfore the tranſlatours now require you this
" Yf ought be amys ye wold conſyder
" The Englyſh almoſt as ſhort as the Latten is
" And ſtill to kepe ryme a dyffycult matter
" To make the ſentence opynly to appere
" Which if it had a long expocyſion
" Then were it a comment and no tranſlacyon."

[3] At Stationers' Hall in 1597, " the ſecond comedy of Terence, called *Eunuchus*," was entered by W. Leake; and the firſt and ſecond comedie in 1600.

[4] In the firſt volume of the entries of the Stationers' Company, Aug. 1579, Rich. Jones and John Charlewood entered the 4th tragedie of Seneca. And again all the ten in 1581.

" It is remarkable" ſays Mr. Warton, (*Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 393,) " that Shakſpeare has borrowed nothing from the Engliſh Seneca. Perhaps a copy might not fall in his way. Shakſpeare was only a reader by accident. Holinſhed and tranſlated Italian novels ſupplied moſt of his plots or ſtories. His ſtorehouſe of learned hiſtory was North's Plutarch. The only poetical fable of antiquity, which he has worked into a play, is *Troilus*. But this he borrowed from the romance of Troy. Modern fiction and Engliſh hiſtory were his principal reſources. Theſe perhaps were more ſuitable to his taſte: at leaſt he found that they produced the moſt popular ſubjects. Shakſpeare was above the bondage of the claſſicks."

the Forme and Rule of Honeſt Lyvynge, both in the Latin tongue and the Englyſhe, lately tranſlated by Robert Whyttynton, Poet Laureate: and now newlye imprynted, 12mo. Wm. Myddleton. — — 1546

A frutefull Worke of Lucius Anneus Seneca, called the Myrrour or Glaſſe of Maners and Wyſedome, both in Latin and Englyſhe, lately tranſlated by Robert Whyttynton, Poet Laureate: and nowe newely imprynted, 12mo. Wm. Middleton. — — 1547

Lucii Annei Senecæ ad Gallionem de Remediis Fortuitorum. The remedyes againſt all caſuall chaunces. Dialogus inter Senſum et Rationem. A Dialogue betwene Senſualyte and Reaſon. Lately Tranſlated out of Latyne into Englyſhe, by Robert Whyttynton, Poet Laureate, and now newely imprynted, 12mo. Wm. Myddleton. — — 1547

Seven Bookes of Beneſyting,[5] by Arthur Golding, 4to. — — — 1577

LUCAN.

Lucan's Firſt Booke, tranſlated line for line, by Chr. Marlow, 4to. Lond. Printed by P. Short for Walter Burre. — 1593, and 1600

LIVY.

Livius (Titus[6]) and other Authores Hiſtorie of

[5] In the firſt volume of the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company is the following: "March 26, 1579, *Seneca de Beneficiis* in Englyſhe."

[6] In the firſt volume of the entries in the books of the Stationers' Company, anno 1597, is the following note: "Memo-

Annibal and Scippio, tranſlated into Engliſh, by Anthony Cope, Eſquier, B. L. 4to. Lond. 1545

The Romane Hiſt. &c. by T. Livius of Padua. Alſo the Breviaries of L. Florus, &c. by D. Philemon Holland, fol. Lond. 1600

TACITUS.

The End of Nero and Beginning of Galba. Fower Bookes of the Hiſtories of Cornelius Tacitus. The Life of Agricola, by Sir Hen. Saville, 4to. Lond. — — — 1591

Annales of Tacitus, by Richard Grenaway, fol. 1598

SALLUST.[7]

The Famous Cronycle of the Warre, which the Romyns had againſt Jugurth, &c. compyled in Lat. by the renowned Romayn Salluſt, &c. tranſlated into Engliſhe, by Sir Alex. Barclay Preeſt, &c. Printed by Pynſon, fol. D°.

Lond. pr. by Joh. Waley, 4to. — 1557

The Conſpiracie of Lucius Catiline, tranſlated into Eng. by Tho. Paynell, 4to. Lond. 1541 and 1557

The two moſt Worthy and Notable Hiſtories, &c.

randum that Mr. Alexander Nevill, Gent. is appointed to tranſlate *Titus Livius* into the Englythe tongue: expreſſed, the fame is not to be printed, by anie man, but only ſuch as ſhall have his tranſlacion." Again, in 1598, *The Hiſtory of Titus Livius* was entered by Adam Iſlip.

[7] A tranſlation of Salluſt was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1588. Again in 1607, *The Hiſtorie of Salluſt in Engliſhe.*

Both written by C. C. Salluſtius, and tranſlated by Tho. Heywood, Lond. ſin. fol. 1608

SUETONIUS.

Suetonius, tranſlated by Dr. Phil. Holland, fol. Lond. — — — 1606[8]

CÆSAR.[9]

Ceaſers Commentaries, as touching Britiſh affairs. Without name, printer, place, or date; but by the type it appears to be Raſtell's.
Ames, p. 148.

The eight Bookes of Caius Julius Cæſar, tranſlated by Arthur Golding, Gent. 4to. Lond. 1565 and 1590

Cæſar's Commentaries (de Bello Gallico) five Bookes, by Clement Edmundes, with obſervations, &c. Fol. — — 1600

De Bello Civili, by D°. three Bokes, Fol. 1609

D°. by Chapman. — — 1604

JUSTIN.

The Hiſt. of Juſtine, &c. by A. G. [Arthur Golding] Lond. 4to. — 1564 and 1578

D°. by Dr. Phil. Holland. — 1606

D°. by G. W. with an Epitomie of the Lives, &c. of the Romaine Emperors, from Aurelius Victor, fol. — — 1606

[8] This tranſlation was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1604.

[9] In the entries made in the books of the Stationers' Company is the following:

"John Charlewood] Sept. 1581, *Abſtracte of the Hiſtorie of Cæſar and Pompeius.*"

Q. CURTIUS.

The Hiſtorie of Quintus Curtius, &c. tranſlated, &c. by John Brende, 8vo. Lond. — 1543
Other Editions were in 1561, 1570, 1584, 1592[1]

EUTROPIUS.

Eutropius engliſhed, by Nic. Hayward, 8vo. 1564

A. MARCELLINUS.

Ammianus Marcellinus, tranſlated by Dr. P. Holland, Lond. fol. — — 1609

CICERO.

Cicero's Familiar Epiſtles by J. Webbe, ſm. 8vo. *no date*
Certain ſelect Epiſtles into Engliſh, by Abraham Flemming, 4to. Lond. — 1576
Thoſe Fyve Queſtions which Marke Tullye Cicero diſputed in his Manor of Tuſculanum, &c. &c. Englyſhed by John Dolman, ſm. 8vo. Lond. 1561
The Booke of Freendſhip of Marcus Tullie Cicero. 12mo. Anno Domini — 1550
Imprinted at London in Fleteſtreete in the hous of Tho. Berthelette.
Dedicated to Katharine Ducheſſe of Suffolke, by John Harrynton.
Tranſlated, as it appears, by him from the French while in priſon.
[2]Marcus Tullius Cicero, three Bookes of Duties,

[1] In the Stationers' books this or ſome other tranſlation of the ſame author was entered by Richard Tottell, Feb. 1582, and again by Tho. Creede, &c. 1599.

[2] Mattaire ſays [Ann. Typog. B. 290] "in florulentâ tituli

tourned out of Latin into Engliſh, by Nic. Grimalde.[3] 1555, 1556, 1558, 1574.

Ames ſays 1553; *perhaps by miſtake.*

The thre Bokes of Tullius Offyce, &c. tranſlated,

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marguncula (vulgo vignette) ſuperiore, inſcribitur 1534." This was a wooden block uſed by the printer Tottel, for many books in ſmall 8vo. and by no means determines their date. There may, however, have been ſome earlier tranſlation than any here enumerated, as in Sir Tho. Elyot's *Boke named the Governour*, 1537, is mentioned "the worke of Cicero, called in Latine *De Officiis*, whereunto yet is no *propre* Engliſh worde," &c.

[3] An Epytaphe of the death of Nicolas Grimaold. [Among Barnaby Googe's Poems already mentioned.]

" Behold this fletyng world how al things fade
" Howe eury thyng doth paſſe and weare awaye,
" Eche ſtate of lyfe by comon courſe and trade
" Abydes no tyme, but hath a paſſyng daye.

" For looke as lyfe that pleaſaunt dame hath brought
" The pleaſaunt yeares and dayes of luſtynes,
" So death our foe conſumeth all to nought,
" Enuying theſe with darte doth us oppreſſe.

" And that whiche is the greateſt gryfe of all,
" The gredye grype doth no eſtate reſpect,
" But where he comes he makes them down to fall,
" Ne ſtayes he at the hie ſharpe wytted ſect.

" For yf that wyt or worthy eloquens
" Or learnyng deape could moue hym to forbeare,
" O *Grimaold* then thou hadſte not yet gon hence,
" But heare hadſt leſte full many an aged yeare.

" Ne had the muſes loſte ſo fyne a floure,
" Nor had *Minerva* wept to leave the ſo:
" If wyſdome myght haue fled the fatall howre
" Thou hadſte not yet ben ſuffred for to go.

" A thouſande doltyſh geeſe we myght have ſparde,
" A thouſande wytles heads death might have found.
" And taken them for whom no man had carde,
" And layde them lowe in deepe obliuious grounde.
" But fortune fauours fooles as old men ſaye,
" And lets them lyve, and takes the wyſe awaye."

&c. by R. Whyttington, Poet Laureate, 12mo. Lond. 1533, 1534, 1540, and 1553[4]

The boke of Tulle of Old Age, tranſlated by Will. Wyrceſtre, alias Botaner. Caxton, 4to.[5] 1481

De Senectute, by Whyttington, 8vo. *no date*

An Epiſtle or letter of exhortation, written in Latyne by Marcus Tullius Cicero, to his brother Quintus, the Proconſul or Deputy of Aſia, wherein the office of a magiſtrate is cunningly and wiſely deſcribed; tranſlated into Englyſhe by G. G. ſet forth and authoriſed according to the Queenes Majeſties Injunctions. Prynted at London by Rouland Hall, dwelling in Golding Lane, at the ſygne of the three arrows, ſmall 8vo. — — — 1561

The worthie Booke of Old Age, otherwiſe intitled The elder Cato, &c. 12mo.** Lond. 1569

Tullius Cicero on Old Age, by Tho. Newton, 8vo.** Lond. — — — 1569

Tullius Friendſhip, Olde Age, Paradoxe, and Scipio's Dream, by Tho. Newton, 4to. 1577

Tullius de Amicitia, tranſlated into our maternal Englyſhe Tongue, by W. of Worceſter. Printed by Caxton, with the tranſlation of *De Senectute*, fol.

The Paradoxe of M. T. Cicero, &c. by Rob. Whyt-

[4] In the books belonging to Stationers' Hall, *Tullies Offices in Latin and Engliſh* is entered Feb. 1582, for R. Tottell. Again, by Tho. Orwin, 1591.

[5] In the *Itinerarium* of W. de Worceſtre, p. 368, is the following notice of this book: "1473, die 10 Auguſti preſentavi W. epiſcopo Wyntonienſi apud Aſher librum Tullii de Senectute per me tranſlatum in Anglicis, ſed nullum regardum recepi de Epiſcopo."

** Theſe are perhaps the ſame as the two foregoing tranſlations.

tington, Poet Laureat. Printed in Southwarke, 12mo. — — 1540

Webbe tranſlated all the ſixteen Books of Cicero's Epiſtles, but probably they were not printed together in Shakſpeare's Life-time. I ſuppoſe this, from a Paſſage in his Dedication.

In 1571 Drant publiſhed—*Marcus Tullius Cicero for the Poet Archias.* See Warton's *Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry*, Vol. III. p. 431.

BOETHIUS.

Boethius, by Chaucer. Printed by Caxton, fol.

Boethius in Engliſh Verſe, by Tho. Rychard. Imprinted in the exempt monaſtery of Taviſtock, 4to. — — — 1525

Eng. and Lat. by Geo. Colville, 4to. 1556[6]

APULEIUS.

Apuleius's Golden Aſſe, tranſlated into Eng. by Wm. Adlington, 4to. Lond. 1566 and 1571[7]

FRONTINUS.

Stratagemes, Sleightes, and Policies of Warre, gathered by S. Julius Frontinus. Tranſlated by Richard Moriſine, 8vo. Printed by Tho. Berthelet. — — — 1539

[6] In the Stationers' books, Jan. 13th, 1608, Matthew Lownes entered "*Anitius Manlius Torquatus Severinus Boethius*, a Chriſtian Conſul of Rome, newly tranſlated out of Latin, together with original Notes explaining the obſcureſt Places." Printed 8vo. 1609.

[7] There is an entry of this tranſlation in the books at Stationers' Hall in 1595. Valentine Simes is the name of the printer who entered it. It is again entered by Clement Knight in 1600.

PLINY JUN^r.

Some ſelect Epiſtles of Pliny the Younger into Eng. by Abr. Flemming, 4to. Lond. 1576

POMPONIUS MELA.

Pomponius Mela, by A. Golding, 4to. 1590

PLINY.

Pliny's Nat. Hiſt. by Dr. Phil. Holland, fol.[8] 1601

SOLINUS.

Julius Solinus Polyhiſtor, by A. Golding, 4to. 1587

VEGETIUS.

The four Bookes of Flavius Vegetius, concerning martial Policye, by John Sadler, 4to. 1572

RUTILIUS RUFUS.

A View of Valiaunce, tranſlated from Rutilius Rufus, by Tho. Newton, 8vo. 1580

DARES Phryg. and DICTYS Cret.

Dares and Dictys's Trojan War, in Verſe. 1555

[8] On the books of the Stationers' Company is this entry: "Adam Iſlip, 1600.] The xxxvii. bookes of C. Plinius Secundus his Hiſtorie of the Worlde. To be tranſlated out of Latin into Englyſhe and ſo printed."

CATO and P. SYRUS.

Caton,[9] tranſlated into Englyſhe by Mayſter Benet Burgh, &c. mentioned by Caxton.

Cathon [Parvus and Magnus] tranſl. &c. by Caxton 1483[1]

Preceptes of Cato, with Annotations of Eraſmus, &c. 24mo. Lond. — 1560 and 1562

‡Catonis Diſticha, Latin and Engliſh, ſmall 8vo. Lond. — — — 1553

Ames mentions a Diſcourſe of Human Nature, tranſlated from Hippocrates, p. 428; *an Extract from Pliny, tranſlated from the French, p.* 312; *Æſop,*[2] *&c. by Caxton and others; and there is no doubt, but many Tranſlations at preſent unknown, may be gradually recovered, either by induſtry or accident.*

[9] Probably this was never printed.

[1] There is an entry of *Caton* at Stationers' Hall in 1591 by—Adams, in Eng. and Lat. Again, in the year 1591 by Thomas Orwin. Again, in 1605, "Four Bookes of morall Sentences, entitled Cato, tranſlated out of Latin into Engliſh by J. M. Maſter of Arts."

[2] "Æſop's Fables in Englyſhe" were entered May 7th, 1590, on the books of the Stationers' Company. Again, Oct. 1591. Again, Eſop's Fables in Meter, Nov. 1598. Some few of them had been paraphraſed by Lydgate, and I believe are ſtill unpubliſhed. See the Brit. Muſ. Harl. 2251.

It is much to be lamented that *Andrew Maunſell*, a bookſeller in Lothbury, who publiſhed two parts of a catalogue of Engliſh printed books, fol. 1595, did not proceed to his third collection. This according to his own account of it, would have conſiſted of "Grammar, Logick, and Rhetoricke, Lawe, Hiſtorie, Poetrie, Policie," &c. which, as he tells us, "for the moſt part concerne matters of delight and pleaſure."

EXTRACTS OF ENTRIES

ON THE

BOOKS OF THE STATIONERS' COMPANY.

☞ N. B. The terms *book* and *ballad* were anciently uſed to ſignify dramatick works, as well as any other forms of compoſition; while *tragedy* and *comedy* were titles very often beſtowed on novels of the ſerious and the lighter kind. STEEVENS.

A Charter was granted to the Company of Stationers' on the 4th of May, 1556, (third and fourth of Philip and Mary,) and was confirmed by Queen Elizabeth in 1560.

The firſt volume of theſe Entries has been either loſt or deſtroyed, as the earlieſt now to be found is lettered B.[3] The hall was burnt down in the fire of London. The entries began July 17, 1576.

1562.

[†Recevyd of M. Tottle for his licence for pryntinge of the tragicall Hiſtory of the Romeus and Juliett with Sonnettes. A. fol. 86. a.][4]

[3] Since this was written, the firſt volume, marked A, has been found. MALONE.

[4] This article, within crotchets, is from Vol. I. which (as Mr. Malone obſerves) has ſince been diſcovered. STEEVENS.

Again, Feb. 18, 1582. Vol. B.

M. Tottell.] Romeo and Juletta.[5] p. 193.

Again, Aug. 5, 1596,—as a *newe ballad*, for Edward White. C. p. 12. b.

April 3, 1592.

Edw. White.] The tragedy of Arden of Feverſham and Black Will.[6] 286

April 18, 1593.

Rich. Feild.] A booke entitled Venus and Adonis.[7] 297 b.

[5] This and the foregoing are perhaps the original works on which Shakſpeare founded his play of Romeo and Juliet. STEEVENS.

[6] This play was reprinted in 1770 at Feverſham, with a preface attributing it to Shakſpeare. The collection of parallel paſſages which the editor has brought forward to juſtify his ſuppoſition, is ſuch as will make the reader ſmile. The following is a ſpecimen:

Arden of Feverſham, p. 74:
" Fling down Endimion, and ſnatch him up."
Merchant of Venice, Act V. ſc. i:
" Peace, ho! the moon ſleeps with Endymion."
Arden of Feverſham, p. 87:
" Let my death make amends for all my ſin."
Much Ado about Nothing, Act IV. ſc. ii:
" Death is the faireſt cover for her ſhame." STEEVENS.

[7] The laſt ſtanza of a poem entitled *Mirrha the Mother of Adonis; or Luſtes Prodegies*, by William Barkſted, 1607, has the following praiſe of Shakſpeare's *Venus and Adonis*:

" But ſtay, my muſe, in thy own confines keepe;
" And wage not warre with ſo deere-lov'd a neighbor;
" But, having ſung thy day ſong, reſt and ſleepe,
" Preſerve thy ſmall fame and his greater favor.
" His ſong was worthie merit, (Shakſpeare hee)
" Sung the faire bloſſome, thou the withered tree:
" Laurel is due to him; his art and wit
" Hath purchas'd it; cypres thy brow will fit."
STEEVENS.

Afterwards entered by ——— Harriſon, ſen. June 23, 1594: by W. Leake, June 23, 1596: by W. Barrett, Feb. 16, 1616: and by John Parker, March 8, 1619.

Oct. 19, 1593.

Symon Waterſon.] A booke entitled the Tragedye of Cleopatra.[8] 301 b.

Feb. 6, 1593.

John Danter.] A booke entitled a noble Roman Hiſtorye of Tytus Andronicus. 304 b.

Entered alſo unto him by warrant from Mr. Woodcock, the ballad thereof.

March 12, 1593.

Tho. Millington.] A booke intituled the firſte Part of the Contention of the twoo famous Houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter, with the Deathe of the good Duke Humphrey, and the Baniſhment and Deathe of the Duke of Sufk, and the tragical Ende of the prowd Cardinall of Wincheſter, with the notable Rebellion of Jacke Cade, and the Duke of York's firſt Claime unto the Crown. 305 b.

[8] I ſuppoſe this to be Daniel's tragedy of *Cleopatra*. Simon Waterſon was one of the printers of his other works. STEEVENS.

Daniel's *Cleopatra* was publiſhed by Waterſon in 1594; this entry therefore undoubtedly related to it. MALONE.

May 2, 1594.

Peter Shorte.] A pleſant conceyted hyſtorie called the Tayminge of a Shrowe.[9] 306 b.

May 9, 1594.

Mr. Harriſon Sen.] A booke entitled the Ravyſhement of Lucrece. 306 b.

May 14, 1594.

Tho. Creede.] A booke intitled the famous Victories of Henrye the ffyft, conteyninge the honorable Battell of Agincourt.[1] 306 b.

May 14, 1594.

Edw. White.] A booke entituled the moſte famous Chronicle Hiſtorye of Leire Kinge of England and his three Daughters.[2] 307

May 22, 1594.

Edw. White.] A booke entituled a Wynters Nightes Paſtime.[3] 307 b.

[9] I conceive it to be the play that furniſhed Shakſpeare with the materials which he afterwards worked up into another with the ſame title. STEEVENS.

[1] This might have been the *very diſpleaſing play* mentioned in the epilogue to the ſecond part of *King Henry IV.* STEEVENS.

The earlieſt edition of this play now known to be extant, was printed in 1598. Of that edition I have a copy. This piece furniſhed Shakſpeare with the outline of the two parts of *King Henry IV.* as well as with that of *King Henry V.* MALONE.

[2] I ſuppoſe this to be the play on the ſame ſubject as that of our author, but written before it. STEEVENS.

[3] Query, if *The Winter's Tale.* STEEVENS.

June 19, 1594.

Tho. Creede.] An enterlude intitled the Tragedie of Richard the Third, wherein is ſhowen the Death of Edward the Fourthe, with the Smotheringe of the twoo Princes in the Tower, with a lamentable End of Shore's Wife, and the Conjunction of the twoo Houſes of Lancaſter and York.[4] 309 b.

July 20, 1594.

Tho. Creede.] The lamentable Tragedie of Locrine, the eldeſt Sonne of K. Brutus, diſcourſinge the Warres of the Britans, &c. 310 b.

Vol. C.

Before the beginning of this volume are placed two leaves containing irregular entries, prohibitions, notes, &c. Among theſe are the following:

Aug. 4th.

As You like it, a book.
Henry the Fift, a book.[5]
Comedy of Much Ado about Nothing. } to be ſtaied.

[4] This could not have been the work of Shakſpeare, as the death of Jane Shore makes no part of his drama. STEEVENS.

[5] Probably the play before that of Shakſpeare. STEEVENS.

Surely this muſt have been Shakſpeare's *Henry V.* which, as well as *Much Ado about Nothing*, was printed in 1600, when this entry appears to have been made. See the Eſſay on the chronological order of Shakſpeare's plays; article, *As you like it*. MALONE.

The dates ſcattered over theſe pages are from 1596 to 1615.

Dec. 1, 1595.

Cuthbert Burby.] A book entituled Edward the Third and the black prince, their warres with Kinge John of Fraunce.[6] 6

Aug. 5, 1596.

Edw. White.] A newe ballad of Romeo and Juliett.[7] 12 b.

Aug. 15, 1597.

Rich. Jones.] Two ballads, beinge the ffirſte and ſecond parts of the Widowe of Watling-ſtreete.[8] 22 b.

Aug. 29, 1597.

Andrew Wiſe.] The tragedye of Richard the Seconde. 23

Oct. 20, 1597.

Andrew Wiſe.] The tragedie of Kinge Richard the Third, with the Death of the Duke of Clarence. 25

[6] This is aſcribed to Shakſpeare by the compilers of ancient catalogues. STEEVENS.

[7] Query, if Shakſpeare's play, the firſt edition of which appeared in 1597. STEEVENS.

[8] Perhaps the ſongs on which the play with the ſame title was founded. It may, however, be the play itſelf. It was not uncommon to divide one dramatick piece, though deſigned for a ſingle exhibition, into two parts. See the *King John* before that of Shakſpeare. STEEVENS.

Feb. 25, 1597.

Andrew Wiſſe.] A booke entitled the Hiſtorye of Henry the Fourth, with his Battaile at Shrewſburye againſt Henry Hottſpurre of the Northe with the conceipted Mirth of Sir John Falſtalffe. 31

July 22, 1598.

James Robertes.] A booke of the Marchaunt of Venyce, or otherwiſe called the Jewe of Venyſe. Provided that yt bee not prynted by the ſaid James Roberts or anye other whatſoever, without lycence firſt had of the right honourable the Lord Chamberlen. 39 b.

Aug. 4, 1600.

As you like it, a book. Henry the ffift, a book. Every man in his humour, a book. The Comedie of Much Adoo about Nothinge, a book.

Aug. 11, 1600.

Tho. Pavier.] Firſt Part of the Hiſtory of the Life of Sir John Oldcaſtle Lord Cobham.

Item, The Second and laſt Parte of the Hiſtory of Sir John Oldcaſtell Lord Cobham, with his Martyrdom. 62

Aug. 14, 1600.

Tho. Pavyer.] The Hiſtorye of Henrye the

Vth, with the battel of Agencourt, &c. 63

Aug. 23, 1600.

And. Wiſe, and Wm. Aſpley.] Muche Adoe about Nothinge. 63 b.

Second Part of the Hiſtory of King Henry the Fourth, with the Humors of Sir John Fallſtaff, written by Mr. SHAKESPERE. ibid.

Oct. 8, 1600.

Tho. Fyſher.] A booke called a Mydſomer Nyghte Dreame. 65 b.

Oct. 28, 1600.

Tho. Haies.] The Book of the Merchant of Venyce. 66

Jan. 18, 1601.

John Buſby.] An excellent and pleaſant conceited commedie of Sir John Faulſtof and the Merry Wyves of Windeſor. 78

Arth Johnſon.] The preceding entered as aſſigned to him from John Buſby. ibid.

April 19, 1602.

Tho. Pavier.] By Aſſignment from Tho. Millington, *Salvo jure cujus cumq.* The 1ſt and 2d pts of Henry the VI. ii books.

Tho. Pavyer.] Titus and Andronicus. 80 b.

July 26, 1602.

James Roberts.] A booke The Revenge of Hamlett prince of Denmarke, as

yt was latelie acted by the Lord Chamberlayn his servantes. 84 b.

Aug. 11, 1602.

Wm. Cotton.] A booke called the Lyfe and Deathe of the Lord Cromwell, as yt was lately acted by the Lord Chamberleyn his servants. 85 b.

Feb. 7, 1602.

Mr. Roberts.] The booke of Troilus and Cressida, as yt is acted by my Lo. Chamberlen's men. 91 b.

June 27, 1603.

Matt. Law.] Richard 3.
Richard 2.
Henry 4. 1st. Part. } all kings. 98

Feb. 12, 1604.

Nath. Butter.] Yf he get good allowance for the Enterlude of K. Henry 8, before he begyn to print it; and then procure the warden's hands to it for the entrance of yt, he is to have the same for his copy.[9] 120

May 8, 1605.

Simon Stafford.] A booke called the tragicall Historie of Kinge Leir and his three Daughters, &c. as yt was latelie acted. 123.

John Wright.] By assignment from Simon

[9] This was a play entitled, *When you see me you know me, or the famous chronicle Historie of King Henrie the Eight*, &c. by Samuel Rowley. Printed for N. Butter, 1605. MALONE.

Stafford and conſent of Mr. Leake, the tragical Hiſtory of King Leire, and his three Daughters, provided that Simon Stafford ſhall have the printing of this book.[1] ibid.

July 3, 1605.

Tho. Pavyer.] A ballad of lamentable Murther done in Yorkſhire, by a Gent. upon two of his owne Children, ſore wounding his Wyfe and Nurſe.[2] 126

Jan. 22, 1606.

Mr. Ling.] Romeo and Juliett.
Love's Labour Loſte.
Taminge of a Shrewe. 117

Aug. 6, 1607.

Geo. Elde.] A booke called the Comedie of the Puritan Wydowe. 157 b.

Aug. 6, 1607.

Tho. Thorp.] A comedie called What you Will.[3] ibid.

[1] This is the *King Lear* before that of Shakſpeare. STEEVENS.

[2] Query, if the play. STEEVENS.

[3] Perhaps this is Marſton's comedy of *What you will*. I have a copy of it dated 1607. *What you will*, however, is the ſecond title to Shakſpeare's *Twelfth-Night*. STEEVENS.

[illegible] was certainly Marſton's play, for it was printed in 1607, [illegible] Eld, for T. Thorpe. MALONE.

Oct. 22, 1607.

Arth. Johnſon.] The Merry Devil of Edmonton.[4] 159 b.

Nov. 19, 1607.

John Smythick.] A booke called Hamlett.
The Taminge of a Shrewe.
Romeo and Julett.
Love's Labour Loſt 161

Nov. 26, 1607.

Nath. Butter and John Buſby.] Mr. Willm. Shakeſpeare, his Hyſtorye of Kinge Lear, as yt was played before the King's Majeſtie at Whitehall, upon St. Stephen's night at Chriſtmas laſt, by his Majeſties ſervants playing uſually at the Globe on the Bank-ſide. 161 b.

April 5, 1608.

Joſeph Hunt and Tho. Archer.] A book called the Lyfe and Deathe of the Merry Devill of Edmonton, with the pleaſant Pranks of Smugge the Smyth, Sir John, and mine Hoſte of the George, about their ſtealing of Veniſon. By T. B.[5] 165 b.

[4] *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* is mentioned in the *Blacke Booke* by T. M. 1604: "Give him leave to ſee *The Merry Divel of Edmunton*, or *A Woman kill'd with Kindneſſe*." STEEVENS.

[5] Bound up in a volume of plays attributed to Shakſpeare, and once belonging to King Charles II. but now in Mr. Garrick's collection. The initial letters at the end of this entry, ſufficiently free Shakſpeare from the charge of having been its author. STEEVENS.

May 2, 1608.

Mr. Pavyer.] A booke The Yorkſhire Tragedy, written by Wylliam Shakeſpere. 167

May 20, 1608.

Edw. Blount.] The book of Pericles Prynce of Tyre. 167 b.

A book called Anthony and Cleopatra. ibid.

Jan. 28, 1608.

Rich. Bonion and Hen. Whalleys.] A booke called the Hiſtory of Troylus and Creſſida. 178 b.

May 20, 1609.

Tho. Thorpe.] A booke called Shakeſpeare's ſonnetts. 183 b.

Oct. 16, 1609.

Mr. Welby.] Edward the Third. 189

Dec. 16, 1611.

John Brown.] A booke called the Lyfe and Death of the Lo. Cromwell, by W. S. 214 b.

Nov. 29, 1614.

John Beale.] A booke called the Hyſtory of George Lord Faulconbridge, baſtard Sonne to Richard Cordelion.* 256 b.

* Query, if this was Shakſpeare's *King John*, or ſome old romance like that of *Richard Coeur de Lion*. STEEVENS.

Feb. 16, 1616.

Mr. Barrett.] Life and Death of Lord Cromwell. 279

March 2, 1617.

Mr. Snodham.] Edward the Third, the play. 288

Sept. 17, 1618.

John Wright.] The comedy called Mucedorus.[7] 293 b.

July 8, 1619.

Lau. Hayes.] A play called the Merchant of Venice. 303

Vol. D.

Oct. 6, 1621.

Tho. Walkely.] The tragedie of Othello the Moore of Venice. 21

Nov. 8, 1623.

Mr. Blounte and Iſaak Jaggard.] Mr. William Shakeſpeere's Comedyes, Hiſtories, and Tragedyes, ſoe many of the ſaid Copies as are not formerly entered to other men.

It was undoubtedly *The famous Hiſtorie of George Lord Fauconbridge*, a proſe romance. I have an edition of it now before me printed for *I. B.* dated 1616. MALONE.

[7] Bound up in a volume of plays attributed to Shakſpeare, and once belonging to King Charles the Second. See Mr. Garrick's Collection. STEEVENS.

Viz.

Comedyes.
- The Tempeſt.
- Two Gentlemen of Verona.
- Meaſure for Meaſure.
- The Comedy of Errors.
- As You Like it.
- Alls Well that Ends Well.
- Twelfe Night.
- The Winter's Tale.

Hiſtories.
- The Thirde Parte of Henry the Sixt.
- Henry the Eight.

Tragedies.
- Coriolanus.
- Timon of Athens.
- Julius Cæſar.
- Mackbeth.
- Anthonie and Cleopatra.
- Cymbeline. 69

Dec. 14, 1624.

Mr. Pavier.] Titus Andronnicus.
Widdow of Watling Street. 93

Feb. 23, 1625.

Mr. Stanſby.] Edward the Third, the play. 115

April 3, 1626.

Mr. Parker.] Life and Death of Lord Cromwell. 120

Aug. 4, 1626.

Edw. Brewſter.
Rob. Birde.] Mr. Pavier's right in Shakeſpeare's plays, or any of them.
The Hyſtorye of Hen. the fift, and the play of the ſame.

Sir John Oldcaſtle, a play.
Tytus Andronicus, and
Hyſtorye of Hamblett. 127

Jan. 29, 1629.

Mr. Meighen.] The Merry Wives of Winſor. 193

Nov. 8, 1630.

Ric. Cotes.] Henrye the Fift.
Sir John Oldcaſtle.
Tytus Andronicus.
Yorke and Lancaſter.
Agincourt.
Pericles.
Hamblet.
Yorkſhire Tragedie. 208

The ſixteen plays in p. 69, were aſſigned by Tho. Blount to Edward Allott, June 26, 1630. 109

Edward Allott was one of the publiſhers of the ſecond folio, 1632.

It has hitherto been uſual to repreſent the ancient quartos of our author as by far more incorrect than thoſe of his contemporaries; but, I fear, that this repreſentation has been continued by many of us, with a deſign to magnify our own ſervices, rather than to exhibit a true ſtate of the queſtion. The reaſon why we have diſcovered a greater proportion of errors in the former than in the latter, is becauſe we have ſought after them with a greater degree of diligence; for let it be remembered, that it was no more the practice of

other writers than of Shakſpeare, to correct the preſs for themſelves. Ben Jonſon only (who, being verſed in the learned languages, had been taught the value of accuracy,) appears to have ſuperintended the publication of his own dramatick pieces; but were thoſe of Lyly, Chapman, Marlow, or the Heywoods, to be reviſed with equal induſtry, an editor would meet with as frequent opportunity for the exertion of his critical abilities, as in theſe quartos which have been ſo repeatedly cenſured by thoſe who never took the pains to collate them, or juſtify the many valuable readings they contain; for when the character of them which we have handed down, was originally given, among typographical blunders, &c. were enumerated all terms and expreſſions which were not ſtrictly grammatical, or not eaſily underſtood. As yet we had employed in our attempts at explanation only ſuch materials as caſual reading had ſupplied; but how much more is requiſite for the complete explanation of an early writer, the laſt edition of the *Canterbury Tales* of Chaucer may prove a ſufficient witneſs; a work which in reſpect of accuracy and learning is without a rival, at leaſt in any commentary on an Engliſh poet. The reader will forgive me if I deſert my ſubject for a moment, while I expreſs an ardent wiſh that the ſame editor may find leiſure and inclination to afford us the means of reading the other works of the father of our poetry, with advantages which we cannot derive from the efforts of thoſe who have leſs deeply and ſucceſsfully penetrated into the receſſes of ancient Italian, French, and Engliſh literature. —An author has received the higheſt marks of diſtinction, when he has engaged the ſervices of ſuch a commentator.

The reader may perhaps be deſirous to know by whom theſe quartos of Shakſpeare are ſuppoſed to have been ſent into the world. To ſuch a curioſity no very adequate gratification can be afforded; but yet it may be obſerved, that as theſe elder copies poſſeſs many advantages over thoſe in the ſubſequent folio, we ſhould decide perverſely were we to pronounce them ſpurious. They were in all probability iſſued out by ſome performer, who, deriving no benefit from the theatre except his ſalary, was unintereſted in that retention of copies, which was the chief concern of our ancient managers. We may ſuppoſe too that there was nothing criminal in his proceeding; as ſome of the perſons whoſe names appear before theſe publications, are known to have filled the higheſt offices in the company of Stationers with reputation, bequeathing legacies of conſiderable value to it at their deceaſe. Neither do I diſcover why the firſt manuſcripts delivered by ſo careleſs a writer to the actors, ſhould prove leſs correct than thoſe which he happened to leave behind him, unprepared for the preſs, in the poſſeſſion of the ſame fraternity. On the contrary, after his plays had paſſed for twenty years through the hands of a ſucceſſion of ignorant tranſcribers, they were more likely to become maimed and corrupted, than when they were printed from papers leſs remote from the originals. It is true that Heminge and Condell have called theſe copies *ſurreptitious*, but this was probably ſaid with a view to enhance the value of their own impreſſion, as well as to revenge themſelves as far as poſſible on thoſe who had in part anticipated the publication of works from which they expected conſiderable gleanings of advantage, after their firſt harveſt on the ſtage was over.——I mean to except from this

general character of the quartos, the author's rough draughts of *The Merry Wives of Windſor* and *Romeo and Juliet*; together with the play of *King Henry V.* and the two parts of *King Henry VI.*; for the latter carry all the marks of having been imperfectly taken down by the ear, without any aſſiſtance from the originals belonging to the play-houſes in which they were firſt repreſented.

A ſucceeding table of thoſe ancient copies of the plays of Shakſpeare which his commentators have really met with and conſulted, if compared with the earlieſt of theſe entries on the books already mentioned, may tempt the reader to ſuppoſe that ſome quartos have not yet been found, from which future aſſiſtance may be derived. But I fear that no ſuch reſources remain; as it ſeems to have been the practice of the numerous theatres in the time of Shakſpeare, to cauſe ſome bookſeller to make immediate entries of their new pieces, as a ſecurity againſt the encroachments of their rivals, who always conſidered themſelves as juſtified in the exhibition of ſuch dramas as had been enfranchiſed by the preſs. Imperfect copies, but for theſe precautions, might have been more frequently obtained from the repetition of hungry actors invited for that purpoſe to a tavern; or ſomething like a play might have been collected by attentive auditors, who made it their buſineſs to attend ſucceeding repreſentations with a like deſign.[8] By theſe means, without any intent of haſty publication, one company of players was ſtudious to prevent the treſpaſſes of another.[9] Nor did their

[8] See the notes of Mr. Collins and Mr. Malone at the end of *The Third Part of King Henry VI.*

[9] From the year 1570 to the year 1629, when the playhouſe

policy conclude here; for I have not unfrequently met with regiſters of both tragedies and comedies, of which the titles were at ſome other time to be declared. Thus, July 26, 1576, John Hunter enters "A new and pleaſant comedie or plaie, after the manner of *Common Condycions*;" and one Fielder, in Sept. 1581, prefers his right to four others, "Whereof he will bring the titles." "The famous Tragedy of the Rich Jewe of Malta," by Chriſtopher Marlow, is aſcertained to be the property of Nich. Ling and Tho. Millington, in May, 1594, though it was not printed by Nich. Vavaſour till 1633, as Tho. Heywood, who wrote the preface to it, informs us. In this manner the contending theatres were prepared to aſſert a priority of title to any copies of dramatick performances; and thus were they aſſiſted by our ancient ſtationers, who ſtrengthened every claim of literary property, by entries ſecured in a manner which was then ſuppoſed to be obligatory and legal.

I may add, that the difficulty of procuring licences was another reaſon why ſome theatrical publications were retarded and others entirely ſuppreſſed. As we cannot now diſcover the motives which influenced the conduct of former Lord Chamberlains and Biſhops, who ſtopped the ſale of ſeveral works, which nevertheleſs have eſcaped into the world, and appear to be of the moſt innocent nature, we may be tempted to regard their ſeverity as rather dictated by jealouſy and caprice, than by judgment and impartiality. See a note to my *Advertiſement*, Vol. I. p. 403.

The publick is now in poſſeſſion of as accurate an

in White Friars was finiſhed, it appears that no leſs than ſeventeen theatres had been built.

account of the dates, &c. of Shakſpeare's works as perhaps will ever be compiled. This was by far the moſt irkſome part of my undertaking, though facilitated as much as poſſible by the kindneſs of Mr. Longman, of Pater-noſter Row, who readily furniſhed me with the three earlieſt volumes of the records of the Stationers' Company, together with accommodations which rendered the peruſal of them convenient to me though troubleſome to himſelf. STEEVENS.

A LIST OF SUCH

ANCIENT EDITIONS

OF

SHAKSPEARE'S PLAYS,

AS HAVE HITHERTO BEEN MET WITH BY HIS DIFFERENT EDITORS.

Thoſe marked with Aſteriſks are in no former Tables; and thoſe which are printed in the Italick character I have never ſeen.

I.
1. A Midſummer Night's Dream, William Shakſpeare, 1600, Thomas Fiſher.
2. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1600, James Roberts.

II.
1. Merry Wives of Windſor, William Shakſpeare, 1602, T. C. for Arthur Johnſon.
2. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1619, for D°.
3. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1630, T. H. for R. Meighen.

III.
Much Ado about Nothing, William Shakſpeare, 1600, V. S. for Andrew Wiſe and William Aſpley.

IV.
1. Merchant of Venice, William Shakſpeare, 1600, J. R. for Thomas Heyes.
2. W. Shakſpeare, 1600, J. Roberts.
3. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1637, M. P. for Laurence Hayes.
4. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1652, for William Leake.

V.
1. Love's Labour's Loſt, William Shakſpeare, 1598, W. W. for Cuthbert Burbey.
2. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1631, W. S. for John Smethwicke.

VI.
1. Taming of the Shrew, 1594, P. S. for Cuthbert Burbie.
2. Taming of the Shrew, 1607, V. S. for Nich. Ling.[9]
3. D°. Will. Shakſpeare, 1631, W. S. for John Smethwicke.

VII. *
1. King Lear, William Shakſpeare, 1608, for Nathaniel Butter.
2. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1608, for D°.
3. D°. 1608, for D°.
4. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1655, Jane Bell.

VIII.
1. King John, 2 Parts, 1591, *for Sampſon Clarke.*
2. D°. W. Sh. 1611, Valentine Simmes, for John Helme.
3. D°. W. Shakſpeare, 1622, Aug. Matthewes, for Thomas Dewe.[1]

[9] This is the play on which Shakſpeare formed his own with the ſame title.

[1] The three are only copies of the ſpurious play.

IX.

1. Richard II. 1597, Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wiſe.
2. Richard II. William Shakſpeare, 1598, Valentine Simmes for Andrew Wiſe.
3. D°. W. Shakſpeare, 1608, W. W. for Matthew Law.‡
4. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1615, for Matthew Law.
5. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1634, John Norton.

X.

* 1. Henry IV. Firſt Part, 1598, P. S. for Andrew Wiſe.
2. D°. W. Shakſpeare, 1599, S. S. for D°.
3. *Do.* 1604.
* 4. D°. 1608, for Matthew Law.‡
5. D°. W. Shakſpeare, 1613, W. W. for D°.
6. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1622, T. P. ſold by D°.
* 7. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1632, John Norton, ſold by William Sheares.
8. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1639, John Norton, ſold by Hugh Perry.

XI.

1. Henry IV. Second Part, William Shakſpeare, 1600, V. S. for Andrew Wiſe and William Aſpley.
2. D°. 1600. D°.
3. D°. 1600. D°.

‡‡ *King Richard II.* and *King Henry IV.* 1608.] Of each of theſe only one copy has been met with. They both belonged to the late Reverend John Bowle, and are now in my poſſeſſion. STEEVENS.

XII. *

1. Henry V. 1600, Tho. Creede, for T. Millington, and John Buſby.
2. D°. 1602, Thomas Creede, for Thomas Pavier.

D°. 1608, for T. P.

XIII. XIV.

1. Henry VI. William Shakſpeare, 1600, Val. Simmes, for Tho. Millington.
2. D°. William Shakſpeare, W. W. for T. Millington, 1600.

" The true tragedie of Richard duke of Yorke, and the death of good king Henry the ſixt, with the whole contention betweene the two houſes Lancaſter and Yorke, as it was ſundrie times acted by the right honourable the earle of Pembrooke his ſeruants. Printed at London by P. S. for Thomas Millington, and are to be ſold at his ſhoppe vnder St. Peters church in Cornwal. 1595." 8vo. (In Dr. Pegge's ſale, and bought by Mr. Chalmers for 5l. 15s. 6d.

*** P. S. is Peter Short; W. W. William White.

This play, preciſely the ſame with the 4to. of 1600, appears as it was firſt altered by Shakſpeare from the original drama of Greene, Peele and Marlowe; great part of which is here preſerved. He afterwards revited and improved it, as we have it in the folio.

RITSON.

3. D°. William Shakſpeare, T. P.

XV.

1. *Richard III.* 1597, *Valentine Simmes, for Andrew Wiſe.*
2. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1598, Thomas Creede, for D°.
3. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1602, Thomas Creede, for D°.
4. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1612, Thomas Creede, ſold by Matthew Lawe.
5. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1622, Thomas Purfoot, ſold by D°.
6. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1629, John Norton, ſold by D°.
7. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1634, John Norton.

XVI.

"The moſt lamentable Romaine Tragedie of Titus Andronicus. As it hath ſundry times been playde by the Right Honourable the Earle of Pembrooke, the Earle of Darbie, the Earle of Suſſex, and the Lorde Chamberlaine theyr Seruants. At London, printed by J. R. for Edward White, and are to bee ſolde at his ſhoppe, at the little North doore of Paules, at the ſigne of the Gun. 1600."

TODD.

See Vol. XXI. p. 1.

Titus Andronicus, 1611, for Edward White.

XVII.
1. Troilus and Creſſida, William Shakſpeare, 1609, G. Eld, for R. Bonian and H. Whalley, with a Preface.
2. D°. 1609, for D°.
* 3. D°. no date, D°.

XVIII. *
1. Romeo and Juliet, 1597, John Danter.
2. D°. 1599, Tho. Creede, for Cuthbert Burby.
3. D°. 1609, for John Smethwicke.
4. D°. William Shakſpeare, no date, John Smethwicke.
5. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1637, R. Young, for D°.

XIX. *
1. Hamlet, William Shakſpeare, J. R. for N. L. 1604.
2. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1605, I. R. for N. L.
3. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1611, for John Smethwicke.
4. D°. William Shakſpeare, no date, W. S. for D°.
5. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1637, R. Young for D°.
6. D°. R. Bentley, 1695.

XX.
1. *Othello, William Shakſpeare, no date, Thomas Walkely.*
2. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1622, N. O. for Thomas Walkely.
3. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1630, A. M. for Richard Hawkins.
4. D°. William Shakſpeare, 1655, for William Leake.

☞ Of all the remaining plays the moſt authentick edition is the folio 1623; yet that of 1632 is not without value; for though it be in ſome places more incorrectly printed than the preceding one, it has likewiſe the advantage of various readings, which are not merely ſuch as reiteration of copies will naturally produce. The curious examiner of Shakſpeare's text, who poſſeſſes the firſt of theſe, ought not to be unfurniſhed with the ſecond. As to the third and fourth impreſſions (which include the ſeven rejected plays) they are little better than waſte paper, for they differ only from the preceding ones by a larger accumulation of errors. I had inadvertently given a ſimilar character of the folio 1632; but take this opportunity of confeſſing a miſtake into which I was led by too implicit a reliance on the aſſertions of others.

FOLIO EDITIONS.

I. Mr. William Shakſpeare's Comedies, Hiſtories, and Tragedies. Publiſhed according to the true original Copies, 1623, Fol. Printed at the Charges of W. Jaggard, Ed. Blount, J. Smethweeke, and W. Aſpley.

It ſeems, from ſuch a partnerſhip, that no ſingle publiſher was at that time willing to riſque his money on a complete collection of our author's plays.[2]

[2] Every poſſible adulteration has of late years been practiſed in fitting up copies of this book for ſale.

When leaves have been wanting, they have been reprinted

II. D°. 1632. Fol. Tho. Cotes, for Rob. Allot.

with battered types, and foiſted into vacancies, without notice of ſuch defects and the remedies applied to them.

When the title has been loſt, a ſpurious one has been fabricated, with a blank ſpace left for the head of Shakſpeare, afterwards added from the ſecond, third, or fourth impreſſion. To conceal theſe frauds, thick vermillion lines have been uſually drawn over the edges of the engravings, which would otherwiſe have betrayed themſelves when let into a ſupplemental page, however craftily it was lined at the back, and diſcoloured with tobacco-water till it had aſſumed the true *jaune antique*.

Sometimes leaves have been inſerted from the ſecond folio, and, in a known inſtance, the entire play of *Cymbeline*; the genuine date at the end of it [1632] having been altered into 1623.

Since it was thought advantageous to adopt ſuch contrivances while the book was only valued at ſix or ſeven guineas, now it has reached its preſent enormous price, may not artifice be ſtill more on the ſtretch to vamp up copies for the benefit of future catalogues and auctions?—Shakſpeare might ſay of thoſe who profit by him, what Antony has obſerved of Enobarbus—

" ——my fortunes have
" Corrupted honeſt men."

Mr. Garrick, about forty years ago, paid only 1l. 16s. to Mr. Payne at the Meuſe Gate for a fine copy of this folio.—After the death of our Roſcius, it ſhould have accompanied his collection of old plays to the Britiſh Muſeum; but had been taken out of his library, and has not been heard of ſince.

Here I might particularize above twenty other copies; but as their deſcription would not always meet the wiſhes or intereſts of their owners, it may be as well omitted.

Perhaps the original impreſſion of the book did not amount to more than 250; and we may ſuppoſe that different fires in London had their ſhare of them. Before the year 1649 they were ſo ſcarce, that (as Mr. Malone has obſerved) King Charles I. was obliged to content himſelf with a folio of 1632, at preſent in my poſſeſſion.

Of all volumes, thoſe of popular entertainment are ſooneſt injured. It would be difficult to name four folios that are oftener found in dirty and mutilated condition, than this firſt aſſemblage of Shakſpeare's plays—God's Revenge againſt Murder—The Gentleman's Recreation—and Johnſon's Lives of the Highwaymen.

Though Shakſpeare was not, like Fox the Martyrologiſt, depoſited in churches, to be thumbed by the congregation, he generally took poſt on our hall tables; and that a multitude of his

III. D°. 1664. Fol. for P. C.[3]

IV. D°. 1685. Fol. for H. Herringman, E. Brewſter, and R. Bentley.

pages have "their effect of gravy," may be imputed to the various eatables ſet out every morning on the ſame boards. It ſhould ſeem that moſt of his readers were ſo chary of their time, that (like Piſtol, who gnaws his leek and ſwears all the while,) they fed and ſtudied at the ſame inſtant. I have repeatedly met with thin flakes of piecruſt between the leaves of our author. Theſe unctuous fragments, remaining long in cloſe confinement, communicated their greaſe to ſeveral pages deep on each ſide of them.—It is eaſy enough to conceive how ſuch accidents might happen;—how aunt Bridget's maſtication might be diſordered at the ſudden entry of the Ghoſt into the Queen's cloſet, and how the half-chewed morſel dropped out of the gaping 'Squire's mouth, when the viſionary Banquo ſeated himſelf in the chair of Macbeth. Still, it is no ſmall elogium on Shakſpeare, that his claims were more forcible than thoſe of hunger.—Moſt of the firſt folios now extant, are known to have belonged to ancient families reſident in the country.

Since our breakfaſts have become leſs groſs, our favourite authors have eſcaped with fewer injuries; not that (as a very nice friend of mine obſerves) thoſe who read with a coffee-cup in their hands, are to be numbered among the contributors to bibliotheeal purity.

I claim the merit of being the firſt commentator on Shakſpeare who ſtrove, with becoming ſerioufneſs, to account for the frequent ſtains that diſgrace the earlieſt folio edition of his plays, which is now become the moſt expenſive ſingle book in our language; for what other Engliſh volume without plates, and printed ſince the year 1600, is known to have ſold, more than once, for thirty-five pounds, fourteen ſhillings? STEEVENS.

[3] This edition of our author's plays is ſcarcer than even the folio 1623. Being publiſhed towards the end of 1664, moſt of the copies were deſtroyed in the fire of London, 1666. STEEVENS.

MODERN EDITIONS.

Octavo, Rowe's, London, 1709, 7 Vols.
Duodecimo, Rowe's, ditto, 1714, 9 D°.
Quarto, Pope's, ditto, 1725, 6 D°.
Duodecimo, Pope's, ditto, 1728, 10 D°.
Octavo, Theobald's, ditto 1733, 7 D°.
Duodecimo, Theobald's, ditto, 1740, 8 D°.
Quarto, Hanmer's, Oxford, 1744, 6 D°.
Octavo, Warburton's, London, 1747, 8 D°.
D°. Johnſon's, ditto, 1765, 8 D°.
D°. Steevens's, ditto, 1766, 4 D°.
Crown 8vo. Capell's, 1768, 10 D°.
Quarto, Hanmer's, Oxford, 1771, 6 D°.
Octavo, Johnſon and Steevens, London, 1773, 10 D°.
D°. ſecond edition, ditto, 1778, 10 D°.
D°. (publiſhed by Stockdale) 1784, 1 D°.
D°. Johnſon and Steevens, 1785, third edition, reviſed and augmented by the Editor of Dodſley's Collection of old Plays, (i. e. Mr. Reed,) 10 D°.
Duodecimo, (publiſhed by Bell,) London, 1788, 20 vols.
Octavo, (publiſhed by Stockdale, 1790, 1 D°.
Crown 8vo. Malone's, ditto, 1790, 10 D°.
Octavo, fourth edition, Johnſon and Steevens, &c. ditto, 1793, 15 D°.
The dramatick Works of Shakſpeare, in 6 Vols. 8vo. with Notes by Joſeph Rann, A. M. Vicar of St. Trinity, in Coventry.—Clarendon Preſs, Oxford.

Vol. I. - 1786.
Vol. II. - 1787.

Vol. III. - 1789.
Vol. IV. - 1791.
Vol. V. - } 1794.
Vol. VI. - }

The Plays and Poems of William Shakſpeare, corrected from the lateſt and beſt London Edition, with Notes, by Samuel Johnſon, L. L. D. To which are added, a Gloſſary, and Life of the Author. Imbelliſhed with a ſtriking likeneſs from the collection of his Grace the Duke of Chandos. Firſt American Edition. Philadelphia, printed and ſold by Bioren and Madan, 1795.

The reader may not be diſpleaſed to know the exact ſums paid to the different editors of Shakſpeare. The following account is taken from the books of the late Mr. Tonſon.

To Mr. Rowe - -	£. 36	10	0
Mr. Hughes[4] - -	28	7	0
Mr. Pope - - -	217	12	0
Mr. Fenton[5] - -	30	12	0
Mr. Gay[6] - - -	35	19	6
Mr. Whatley[7] - -	12	0	0
Mr. Theobald[8] - -	652	10	0

[4] For correcting the preſs and making an index to Mr. Rowe's 12mo. edition.

[5] For aſſiſtance to Mr. Pope in correcting the preſs.

[6] For the ſame ſervices.

[7] For correcting the ſheets of Mr. Pope's 12mo.

[8] Of Mr. Theobald's edition no leſs than 12,800 have been printed.

To Mr. Warburton -	£.560	0	0
Dr. Johnſon[9] - - -			
Mr. Capell - - -	300	0	0

Of theſe editions ſome have paſſed ſeveral times through the preſs; but only ſuch as vary from each other are here enumerated.

To this liſt might be added, ſeveral ſpurious and mutilated impreſſions; but as they appear to have been executed without the ſmalleſt degree of ſkill either in the manners or language of the time of Shakſpeare, and as the names of their reſpective editors are prudently concealed, it were uſeleſs to commemorate the number of their volumes, or the diſtinct date of each publication.

Some of our legitimate editions will afford a ſufficient ſpecimen of the fluctuation of price in books.—An ancient quarto was ſold for ſix-pence; and the folios 1623 and 1632, when firſt printed, could not have been rated higher than at ten ſhillings each.[1]—Very lately, ſeven pounds, five ſhillings; and ſeventeen pounds, ſix ſhillings and ſix-pence, have been paid for a quarto; the firſt folio has been repeatedly ſold for twenty-five pounds; and alſo for thirty-five pounds, fourteen ſhillings:

[9] From the late Mr. Tonſon's books it appears, that Dr. Johnſon received copies of his edition for his ſubſcribers, the firſt coſt of which was 375l. and afterwards 105l. in money. Total 480l. MALONE.

[1] I have ſince diſcovered, from an ancient MS. note in a copy of the folio 1623, belonging to Meſſieurs White, bookſellers in Fleet Street, that the original price of this volume was—*one pound*. STEEVENS.

but what price may be expected for it hereafter, is not very eaſy to be determined, the conſcience of Mr. Fox, bookſeller, in Holborn, having once permitted him to aſk no leſs than *two guineas* for *two leaves* out of a mutilated copy of that impreſſion, though he had ſeveral, almoſt equally defective, in his ſhop. The ſecond folio is commonly rated at two or three guineas.[a]

At the late Mr. Jacob Tonſon's ſale, in the year 1767, one hundred and forty copies of Mr. Pope's edition of Shakſpeare, in ſix volumes quarto (for which the ſubſcribers paid ſix guineas,) were diſpoſed of among the bookſellers at ſixteen ſhillings per ſet. Seven hundred and fifty of this edition were printed.

At the ſame ſale, the remainder of Dr. Warburton's edition, in eight volumes octavo, printed in 1747, (of which the original price was two pounds eight ſhillings, and the number printed, one thouſand,) was ſold off: viz. one hundred and ſeventy-eight copies, at eighteen ſhillings each.

On the contrary, Sir Thomas Hanmer's edition, printed at Oxford in 1744, which was firſt ſold for three guineas, had ariſen to nine or ten, before it was reprinted.

It appears, however, from the foregoing catalogue (when all reiterations of legitimate editions are taken into the account, together with five ſpurious ones printed in Ireland, one in Scotland, one at Birmingham, and four in London,

[a] And is not worth three ſhillings. See an account of it, in the Preface to the preſent [i. e. Mr. Malone's] edition. MALONE.

See, however, the Advertiſement prefixed to this edition, 1793, and Mr. Malone's Preface, here reprinted. STEEVENS.

making in the whole thirty-ſeven impreſſions) that not leſs than 37,500 copies of our author's works have been diſperſed, excluſive of the quartos, ſingle plays, and ſuch as have been altered for the ſtage. Of the latter, as exact a liſt as I have been able to form, with the aſſiſtance of Mr. Reed, of Staple-Inn, (than whom no man is more converſant with Engliſh publications both ancient and modern, or more willing to aſſiſt the literary undertakings of others) will be found in the courſe of the following pages. STEEVENS.

A LIST OF THE MOST

AUTHENTICK ANCIENT EDITIONS

OF

SHAKSPEARE'S POEMS.

1. Venus and Adonis, 1596, ſmall octavo, or rather decimo ſexto, R. F. for John Harriſon.

   This poem, I have no doubt, was printed in quarto in 1593 or 1594, though no copy of the edition is now known to be extant.[3]

[3] In a manuſcript diary that lately paſſed through the hands of Francis Douce, Eſq. there is the following entry on the *12th of June*, 1593:

"For the Survay of Fraunce with the Venus and Adhonay pr. Shakſpere . . . } xii d.

Reprinted in 1600, 1602, 1617, 1620, 1630, &c.

2. Lucrece, quarto, 1594, Richard Field, for John Harriſon.

Reprinted in ſmall octavo, in 1596, 1598, 1600, 1607, 1616, 1624, 1632, &c.

3. The Paſſionate Pilgrim, [being a collection of Poems by Shakſpeare,] ſmall octavo, 1599, for W. Jaggard; ſold by William Leake.

4. The Paſſionate Pilgrime, or certain amorous Sonnets between Venus and Adonis, &c. The third edition, ſmall octavo, 1612, W. Jaggard.

I know not when the ſecond edition was printed.

5. Shakſpeare's Sonnets, never before imprinted, quarto, 1609, G. Eld, for T. T.

An edition of Shakſpeare's Sonnets, differing in many particulars from the original, and intermixed with the poems contained in *The Paſsionate Pilgrim*, and with ſeveral poems written by Thomas Heywood, was printed in 1640, in ſmall octavo, by Thomas Cotes, ſold by John Benſon.

MODERN EDITIONS.

Shakſpeare's Poems, ſmall octavo, for Bernard Lintot, no date, but printed in 1710.

The Sonnets in this edition were printed from the quarto of 1609; *Venus and Adonis*, and *Lucrece*, from very late editions, full of errors.

The Poems of William Shakſpeare, containing his Venus and Adonis, Rape of Lucrece, Sonnets, Paſſionate Pilgrim, and A Lover's Complaint, printed from the authentick copies, by Malone, in octavo, in 1780.

D°. Second Edition, with the author's plays, crown octavo, 1790.

Spurious Editions of Shakſpeare's Poems have alſo been publiſhed by Gildon, Sewell, Evans, &c.

MALONE.

PLAYS aſcribed to SHAKSPEARE, either by the Editors of the two later Folios, or by the Compilers of ancient Catalogues.

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1. Arraignment of Paris, 1584,[4] Henry Marſh.
2. Birth of Merlin, 1662, Tho. Johnſon, for Francis Kirkman and Henry Marſh.
3. Edward III.[5] 1596, for Cuthbert Burby, 2. 1599, Simon Stafford, for D°.
4. Fair Em,[6] 1631, for John Wright.

[4] It appears from an epiſtle prefixed to Greene's *Arcadia*, that *The Arraignment of Paris* was written by George Peele, the author of *King David and fair Bethſabe*, &c. 1599.

[5] See the preceding extracts from the books at Stationers' Hall.

[6] *Fair Em,*] In Mr. Garrick's Collection is a volume, formerly belonging to King Charles II. which is lettered on the

5. Locrine, 1595, Thomas Creede.

6. London Prodigal, 1605.

7. Merry Devil of Edmonton, 1608, Henry Ballard, for Arthur Johnſon. 2. 1617, G. Eld, for D°. 3. 1626, A. M. for Francis Falkner. 4. 1631, T. P. for D°. 5. 1655, for W. Gilbertſon.

8. Mucedorus, 1598, for William Jones. 2. 1610, for D°. 3. 1615, N. O. for D°. 4. 1639, for John Wright. 5. no date, for Francis Coles. 6. 1668, E. O. for D°.

9. Pericles, 1609, for Henry Goſſon. 2. 1619, for T. P. 3. 1630, J. N. for R. B. 4. 1635, Thomas Cotes.

10. Puritan, 1600,[7] and 1607, G. Eld.

11. Sir John Oldcaſtle, 1600, for T. P.

12. Thomas Lord Cromwell, 1613, Tho. Snodham.

13. Two Noble Kinſmen, 1634, Tho. Cotes, for John Waterſon.

14. Yorkſhire Tragedy, 1608, R. B. for T. Pavyer. D°. 1619, for T. P. STEEVENS.

back, "SHAKESPEARE, Vol. I." This volume conſiſts of *Fair Em*, *The Merry Devil*, &c. *Mucedorus*, &c. There is no other authority for aſcribing *Fair Em* to our author.

[7] The exiſtence of this edition has been doubted. REED.

LIST OF PLAYS

ALTERED FROM

SHAKSPEARE.

INVENIES ETIAM DISJECTI MEMBRA POETAE.

Tempeſt.

The Tempeſt, or the Enchanted Iſland. A Comedy, acted in Dorſet Garden. By Sir W. D'Avenant and Dryden. 4to. 1669.

The Tempeſt, made into an Opera by Shadwell in 1673. See Downes's Roſcius Anglicanus, p. 34.

The Tempeſt, an Opera taken from Shakſpeare. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By Mr. Garrick. 8vo. 1756.

An alteration by J. P. Kemble. Acted at Drury Lane. 8vo. 1790.

Two Gentlemen of Verona.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona. A Comedy written by Shakſpeare, with Alterations and Additions, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By Mr. Victor. 8vo. 1763.

Midſummer-Night's Dream.

The Humours of Bottom the Weaver, by Robert Cox. 4to.

The Fairy Queen, an Opera, repreſented at the Queen's Theatre by their Majeſties Servants. 4to. 1692.

Pyramus and Thiſbe, a comick Maſque, written by Richard Leveridge, perſormed at Lincoln's Inn Fields. 8vo. 1716.

Pyramus and Thiſbe, a mock Opera, written by Shakſpeare. Set to muſick by Mr. Lampe. Performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. 8vo. 1745.

The Fairies, an Opera, taken from a Midſummer-Night's Dream written by Shakſpeare, as it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By Mr. Garrick. 8vo. 1755.[7]

A Midſummer-Night's Dream, written by Shakſpeare, with Alterations and Additions, and ſeveral new Songs. As it is perſormed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. 8vo. 1763.

A Fairy Tale, in two Acts, taken from Shakſpeare. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. 8vo. 1763.

Merry Wives of Windſor.

The Comical Gallant, or the Amours of Sir John Falſtaffe. A Comedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majeſties Servants. By Mr. Dennis. 4to. 1702.

[7] "Garrick has produced a deteſtable Engliſh Opera, which is crowded by all true lovers of their country. To mark the oppoſition to Italian Operas, it is ſung by ſome caſt ſingers, two Italians, and a French girl, and the Chapel boys; and to regale us with ſenſe, it is *Shakeſpeare's* MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM, *which is forty times more nonſenſical than the worſt tranſlation of any Italian opera-books.*"

Letter from Lord Orford to Richard Bentley, Eſq. Feb. 23, 1755. See his Lordſhip's Works, Vol. V. p. 312.

Twelfth-Night.

In the preface to Love Betray'd, or the Agreeable Diſappointment, a Comedy, by Charles Burnaby, 1703, that author appears to have taken part of the tale of this play, and about fifty lines from it.

Much Ado about Nothing.

The Law againſt Lovers. By Sir W. Davenant. Fol. 1673.

The Univerſal Paſſion. A Comedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majeſties Servants. By James Miller. 8vo. 1737.

Meaſure for Meaſure.

The Law againſt Lovers, by Sir W. D'Avenant. Fol. 1673.

Meaſure for Meaſure, or Beauty the beſt Advocate. As it is acted at the Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields: written originally by Mr. Shakſpeare, and now very much altered: with additions of ſeveral Entertainments of Muſick. By Mr. Gildon, 4to. 1700.

An alteration by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo. 1789.

Love's Labour's Loſt.

The Students, a Comedy, altered from Shakſpeare's Love's Labour's Loſt, and adapted to the ſtage. 8vo. 1762.

Merchant of Venice.

The Jew of Venice, a Comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, by his Majesty's Servants. By George Granville, Esq. (afterwards Lord Lansdowne.) 4to. 1701.

As you like it.

Love in a Forest, a Comedy. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majesty's Servants. By C. Johnson. 8vo. 1723.

The Modern Receipt, or a Cure for Love. A Comedy, altered from Shakspeare. The Dedication is signed J. C. 12mo. 1739.

All's well that ends well.

All's well that ends well; a Comedy. Altered by Mr. Pilon, and reduced to three Acts. Performed at the Haymarket Theatre, 1785. Not printed.

All's well that ends well; a Comedy, altered by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane. 8vo.

Taming of the Shrew.

Sawny the Scott, or the Taming of the Shrew; a Comedy, as it is now acted at the Theatre Royal, and never before printed. By John Lacy, 4to. 1698.

The Cobler of Preston, a Farce, as it is acted at the new Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields. By Christopher Bullock. 12mo. 1716.

The Cobler of Preston, as it is acted at the

Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majeſty's Servants. By C. Johnſon. 8vo. 1716.

A Cure for a Scold, a Ballad Opera, by James Worſdale. Taken from the Taming of the Shrew. 8vo. [1735.]

Katharine and Petruchio. By Mr. Garrick. 8vo. 1756.

Winter's Tale.

The Winter's Tale, a Play, altered from Shakſpeare. By Charles Marſh. 8vo. 1756.

Florizel and Perdita. By Mr. Garrick. 8vo. 1758.

Sheepſhearing, or Florizel and Perdita, by Macnamara Morgan, Dublin. 12mo. 1767.

The Sheep-ſhearing: a dramatick Paſtoral. In three Acts. Taken from Shakſpeare. As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in the Haymarket. 8vo. 1777.

An alteration by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane. 8vo. 1802.

Macbeth.

Macbeth, a Tragedy, with all the Alterations, Amendments, Additions, and new Songs; as it is now acted at the Duke's Theatre. By Sir William D'Avenant. 4to. 1674.

The Hiſtorical Tragedy of Macbeth (written originally by Shakſpeare) newly adapted to the ſtage, with Alterations, as performed at the Theatre in Edinburgh. 8vo. 1753. By Mr. Lee.

King John.

Papal Tyranny in the Reign of King John, a Tragedy; as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in

Covent Garden, by his Majeſty's Servants. By Colley Cibber. 8vo. 1744.

An alteration by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo. 1801.

King Richard II.

The Hiſtory of King Richard the Second. Acted at the Theatre Royal under the title of the Sicilian Uſurper: with a prefatory Epiſtle in Vindication of the Author, occaſioned by the Prohibition of his Play on the Stage. By N. Tate, 4to. 1681.

The Tragedy of King Richard II. altered from Shakſpeare. By Lewis Theobald, 8vo. 1720.

King Richard II. a Tragedy, altered from Shakſpeare, and the Style imitated. By James Goodhall. Printed at Mancheſter. 8vo. 1772.

King Henry IV. Part I.

King Henry IV. with the Humours of Sir John Falſtaff, a Tragi-comedy, as it is acted at the Theatre in Little Lincoln's Inn Fields, by his Majeſty's Servants. Revived with Alterations. By Mr. Betterton, 4to. 1700.

King Henry IV. Part II.

The Sequel of Henry IV. with the Humours of Sir John Falſtaff and Juſtice Shallow; as it is acted by his Majeſty's Company of Comedians at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. Altered from Shakſpeare by the late Mr. Betterton. 8vo. No date.

King Henry V.

King Henry V. or the Conqueſt of France, a Tragedy, altered by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane, 8vo.

King Henry VI. Three Parts.

Henry the Sixth, the Firſt Part, with the Murder of Humphrey Duke of Gloceſter. As it was acted at the Duke's Theatre. By John Crowne. 4to. 1681.

Henry the Sixth, the Second Part, or the Miſery of Civil War. As it was acted at the Duke's Theatre. By John Crowne. 4to. 1681.

Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter, a Tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majeſty's Servants. [A few ſpeeches and lines *only* borrowed from Shakſpeare.] By Ambroſe Philips, 8vo. 1723.

An Hiſtorical Tragedy of the Civil Wars in the Reign of King Henry VI. (being a ſequel to the Tragedy of Humfrey Duke of Glouceſter, and an Introduction to the Tragical Hiſtory of King Richard III.) Altered from Shakſpeare in the year 1720. By Theo. Cibber. 8vo. No date. [1723.]

The Roſes; or King Henry the Sixth; an Hiſtorical Tragedy. Repreſented at Reading School, Oct. 15, 16, and 17, 1795. Compiled principally from Shakſpeare. 8vo. Elmſly, &c. This compilation is ſaid to have been the work of the Rev. Dr. Valpy.

King Richard III.

The Tragical Hiſtory of King Richard III.

Altered from Shakſpeare. 4to. 1700. By Colley Cibber.

Troilus and Creſsida.

Troilus and Creſſida, or Truth found too late. A Tragedy, as it is acted at the Duke's Theatre. By John Dryden. 4to. 1679.

Coriolanus.

The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth, or the Fall of Caius Martius Coriolanus. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal. By Nahum Tate. 4to. 1682.

The Invader of his Country, or the Fatal Reſentment. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majeſty's Servants. By John Dennis. 8vo. 1720.

Coriolanus, or the Roman Matron, a Tragedy, taken from Shakſpeare and Thomſon. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden: to which is added the Order of the Ovation. By Thomas Sheridan. 8vo. 1755.

Coriolanus, a Tragedy, altered by J. P. Kemble, acted at Drury Lane. 8vo. 1801.

Julius Cæſar.

The Tragedy of Julius Cæſar, with the Death of Brutus and Caſſius: written originally by Shakſpeare, and ſince altered by Sir William D'Avenant and John Dryden, Poets Laureat; as it is now acted by his Majeſty's Company of Comedians at the Theatre Royal. To which is prefixed the Life of Julius Cæſar, abſtracted from Plutarch and Suetonius. 12mo. 1719.

The Tragedy of Julius Cæſar, altered, with a Prologue and Chorus. 4to. 1722.

The Tragedy of Marcus Brutus, with the Prologue and the two laſt Choruſſes. 4to. 1722. Both by John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham.

Antony and Cleopatra.

Antony and Cleopatra, an Hiſtorical Play written by William Shakſpeare, fitted for the Stage by abridging only; and now acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, by his Majeſty's Servants. By Edward Capell. 12mo. 1758.

King Lear.

The Hiſtory of King Lear, acted at the Duke's Theatre. Revived with Alterations. By Nahum Tate. 4to. 1681.

The Hiſtory of King Lear, as it is perſormed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. By George Colman. 8vo. 1768.

Hamlet.

Hamlet, altered by Mr. Garrick. Acted at Drury Lane, 1771. Not printed.

Cymbeline.

The Injured Princeſs, or the Fatal Wager. As it was acted at the Theatre Royal, by his Majeſty's Servants. By Tho. Durfey. 4to. 1682.

Cymbeline, King of Great Britain, a Tragedy, written by Shakſpeare, with ſome Alterations. By Charles Marſh. 8vo. 1755.

Cymbeline, a Tragedy, altered from Shakſpeare.

As it is performed at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden. By W. Hawkins. 8vo. 1759.

Cymbeline, altered by Mr. Garrick. Acted at Drury Lane, 1761. 12mo. 1762.

Timon of Athens.

The Hiſtory of Timon of Athens, the Manhater. As it is acted at the Duke's Theatre; made into a Play, by Thomas Shadwell. 4to. 1678.

Timon of Athens. As it is acted at the Theatre Royal on Richmond Green. Altered from Shakſpeare and Shadwell. By James Love. 8vo. 1768.

Timon of Athens, altered from Shakſpeare, a Tragedy, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane. By Mr. Cumberland. 8vo. 1771.

Timon of Athens, altered from Shakſpeare and Shadwell, by Mr. Hull, was acted at Covent Garden, 1786. Not printed.

Romeo and Juliet.

Romeo and Juliet, altered into a Tragi-comedy, by James Howard, Eſq. See Downes, p. 22.

Caius Marius, by Tho. Otway, 4to. 1680.

Romeo and Juliet, a Tragedy, reviſed and altered from Shakſpeare. By Theo. Cibber. 8vo. No date. [1744.]

Romeo and Juliet, altered by Mr. Garrick. 12mo. 1750.

From the Preface to the Republication of Marſh's Cymbeline in 1762, it appears that he had likewiſe made an alteration of Romeo and Juliet.

Comedy of Errors.

An alteration of this play under the title of Every Body Miſtaken, was acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1716, but was never printed.

The Comedy of Errors, as it is acted at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, 1779. Altered by Mr. Hull.

The Twins, or Which is Which, in three Acts, altered by Mr. Woods, was acted at Edinburgh, and printed in a collection of farces at Edinburgh, 1786, Vol. IV.

Titus Andronicus.

Titus Andronicus, or the Rape of Lavinia. Acted at the Theatre Royal. A Tragedy, altered from Mr. Shakſpeare's Works. By Edward Ravenſcroft. 4to. 1687.

Pericles, Prince of Tyre.

Marina, a Play of three Acts, by George Lillo, 8vo. 1738.

LIST OF

DETACHED PIECES OF CRITICISM

ON

SHAKSPEARE, HIS EDITORS, &c.

1. A ſhort View of Tragedy; its Original, Excellency, and Corruption. With ſome Reflections on Shakſpeare and other Practitioners for the Stage. By Mr. Rymer, Servant to their Majeſties. Small 8vo. 1693.

2. Some Reflections on Mr. Rymer's Short View of Tragedy, and an Attempt at a Vindication of Shakſpeare, in an Eſſay directed to John Dryden, Eſq. By Charles Gildon.—This tract is found only in Gildon's *Miſcellaneous Letters and Eſſays on ſeveral Subjects*, ſmall 8vo. 1694.

3. Remarks on the Plays of Shakſpeare. By C. Gildon, 8vo. Printed at the end of the ſeventh volume of Rowe's edition. 1710.

4. An Eſſay on the Genius and Writings of Shakſpeare, with ſome Letters of Criticiſm to the Spectator. By Mr. Dennis. 8vo. 1712.

5. Shakſpeare Reſtored: or a Specimen of the many Errors as well committed as unamended, by

Mr. Pope in his late Edition of this Poet. Deſigned not only to correct the ſaid Edition, but to reſtore the true Reading of Shakſpeare in all the Editions ever yet publiſhed. By Mr. Theobald. 4to. 1726.

6. An Anſwer to Mr. Pope's Preface to Shakſpeare, in a Letter to a Friend, being a Vindication of the old Actors who were the Publiſhers and Performers of that Author's Plays. Whereby the Errors of their Edition are further accounted for, and ſome Memoirs of Shakſpeare and the Stage Hiſtory of his Time are inſerted, which were never before collected and publiſhed. By a Strolling Player. [John Roberts.] 8vo. 1729.

7. Some Remarks on the Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, written by William Shakſpeare. Printed for W. Wilkins in Lombard Street. 8vo. 1736.

8. Explanatory and Critical Notes on divers Paſſages of Shakſpeare's Plays, by Francis Peck. Printed with his *New Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Mr. John Milton.* 4to. 1740.

9. An Eſſay towards fixing the true Standards of Wit and Humour, Raillery, Satire, and Ridicule: to which is added an Analyſis of the Characters of an Humouriſt, Sir John Falſtaff, Sir Roger de Coverley, and Don Quixote. By Corbyn Morris, Eſq. 8vo. 1744.

10. Miſcellaneous Obſervations on the Tragedy of Macbeth: with Remarks on Sir Thomas Hanmer's Edition of Shakſpeare. To which is affixed—Propoſals for a new Edition of Shakſpeare, with

a Specimen. [By Dr. Samuel Johnſon.] 12mo. 1745.

11. A Word or two of Advice to William Warburton, a Dealer in many Words. By a Friend. [Dr. Grey.] With an Appendix, containing a Taſte of William's Spirit of Railing. 8vo. 1746.

12. Critical Obſervations on Shakſpeare: by John Upton, Prebendary of Rocheſter. 8vo. Firſt Edition, 1746. Second Edition, 1748.

13. Eſſay on Engliſh Tragedy, with Remarks on the Abbé Le Blanc's Obſervations on the Engliſh Stage. By William Guthrie, Eſq. 8vo. no date, but printed in 1747.

14. An Enquiry into the Learning of Shakſpeare, with Remarks on ſeveral Paſſages of his Plays. In a Converſation between Eugenius and Neander. By Peter Whalley, A. B. Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford. 8vo. 1748.

15. An Anſwer to certain Paſſages in Mr. W——'s Preface to his Edition of Shakſpeare, together with ſome Remarks on the Errors and many falſe Criticiſms in the Work itſelf. 8vo. 1748.

16. Remarks upon a late Edition of Shakſpeare: with a long String of Emendations borrowed by the celebrated Editor from the Oxford Edition, without Acknowledgment. To which is prefixed, a Defence of the late Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bart. Addreſſed to the Rev. Mr. Warburton, Preacher of Lincoln's Inn, &c. 8vo. No date.

17. The Canons of Criticiſm and Gloſſary, being a Supplement to Mr. Warburton's Edition of Shakſpeare. Collected from the Notes in that celebrated Work, and proper to be bound up with it. By the other Gentleman of Lincoln's Inn. [Mr. Edwards.] Firſt Edition. 8vo. 1748. Seventh Edition, with Additions. 8vo. 1765.

Remarks on Shakſpeare by Mr. Roderick, are printed at the end of this laſt Edition.

18. An Attempte to reſcue that aunciente Engliſh Poet and Play-wrighte Maiſter Williame Shakſpeare from the many Errours faulſely charged on him by certaine new-fangled Wittes; and to let him ſpeak for himſelfe, as right well he wotteth, when freede from the many careleſs Miſtakings of the heedleſs firſt Imprinters of his Workes. By a Gentleman formerly of Gray's Inn. [Mr. Holt.] 8vo. 1749.

[May 1, 1750, Mr. Holt iſſued out Propoſals for publiſhing by ſubſcription, both in octavo and twelves, an edition of our author's plays.]

19. Miſcellaneous Obſervations on the Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark: with a Preface, containing ſome general Remarks on the Writings of Shakſpeare. 8vo. 1752.

20. The Beauties of Shakſpeare: regularly ſelected from each Play: with a general Index digeſting them under proper Heads. Illuſtrated with explanatory Notes, and ſimilar Paſſages from ancient and modern Authors. By William Dodd, B. A. late of Clare Hall, Cambridge. 2 Vols. 12mo. Firſt Edition, 1752. Second Edition, 1757. Third Edition, in 3 Vols. 1780.

21. Shakſpeare Illuſtrated: or the Novels and Hiſtories on which the Plays of Shakſpeare are founded, collected and tranſlated from the original Authors, with critical Remarks. In 2 Volumes. [By Mrs. Lenox.] 12mo. 1753.
A third Volume with the ſame Title, 1754.

22. The Novel from which the Play of the Merchant of Venice, written by Shakſpeare, is taken, tranſlated from the Italian. To which is added, a Tranſlation of a Novel from the Decamerone of Boccaccio. 8vo. 1755.

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24. The Caſtrated Letter of Sir Thomas Hanmer, in the Sixth Volume of BIOGRAPHIA BRITANNICA, wherein is diſcovered the firſt Riſe of the preſent Biſhop of Glouceſter's Quarrel with that Baronet, about his Edition of Shakſpeare's Plays: to which is added, an impartial Account of the extraordinary Means uſed to ſuppreſs this remarkable Letter. By a Proprietor of that Work. [Philip Nichols.] 4to. 1763.

25. A Reviſal of Shakſpeare's Text, wherein the Alterations introduced into it by the more modern Editors and Criticks are particularly conſidered. [By Mr. Heath.] 8vo. 1765.

26. A Review of Dr. Johnſon's New Edition of Shakſpeare; in which the Ignorance or Inattention of that Editor is expoſed, and the Poet defended

from the Perſecution of his Commentators. By W. Kenrick, 8vo. 1765.

27 An Examination of Mr. Kenrick's Review of Mr. Johnſon's Edition of Shakſpeare. [By Mr. Barclay.] 8vo. 1766.

28. A Defence of Mr. Kenrick's Review of Dr. Johnſon's Shakſpeare, containing a number of curious and ludicrous Anecdotes of Literary Biography. By a Friend. [i. e. W. Kenrick.] 8vo. 1766.

29. Obſervations and Conjectures on ſome Paſſages of Shakſpeare. [By Tho. Tyrwhitt, Eſq.] 8vo. 1766.

30. An Eſſay on the Learning of Shakſpeare, addreſſed to Joſeph Cradock, Eſq. By the Rev. Dr. Richard Farmer, 8vo. 1767. Second Edition, crown 8vo. 1767. Third Edition, crown octavo, 1789.

31. A Letter to David Garrick, Eſq. concerning a Gloſſary to the Plays of Shakſpeare, on a more extenſive Plan than has hitherto appeared. To which is added a Specimen. By Richard Warner, Eſq. 8vo. 1768.

32. An Eſſay on the Writings and Genius of Shakſpeare, compared with the Greek and French dramatick Poets, with ſome Remarks upon the Miſrepreſentations of Monſieur de Voltaire. By Mrs. Montagu. 8vo. Firſt Edition, 1769. Second Edition, 1770.

33. The Tragedy of King Lear as lately publiſhed, vindicated from the Abuſe of the Critical Review-

ers; and the wonderful Genius and Abilities of thoſe Gentlemen for Criticiſm, ſet forth, celebrated and extolled. By the Editor of King Lear. [Charles Jennens, Eſq.] 8vo. 1772.

34. Shakſpeare. 4to. This piece was written by Dr. Kenrick Preſcott, and is dated Feb. 6, 1774.

35. Curſory Remarks on Tragedy, on Shakſpeare, and on certain French and Italian Poets, &c. [By Edward Taylor, Eſq.] Crown 8vo. 1774.

36. A philoſophical Analyſis and Illuſtration of ſome of Shakſpeare's remarkable Characters. By William Richardſon, Eſq. Profeſſor of Humanity in the Univerſity of Glaſgow. 12mo. Firſt Edition, 1773. Second Edition, 1774.

37. The Morality of Shakſpeare's Drama illuſtrated. By Mrs. Griffith. 8vo. 1775.

38. A Letter to George Hardinge, Eſq. on the Subject of a Paſſage in Mr. Steevens's Preface to his Impreſſion of Shakſpeare. [By the Rev. Mr. Collins.] 4to. 1777. [Dr. Johnſon obſerved of this performance, that it was "a great gun without powder and ball."] On the title-page of a copy of it preſented by Mr. Capell, together with his *Shakſpeariana*, to Trinity College, Cambridge, is the following manuſcript note: "Seen through the preſs by Mr. H———, &c. Note in p. 18 added, and the poſtſcript new-molded by him. E. C." i. e. Edward Capell.

From the foregoing circumſtance it appears that Mr. H——— (like Congreve's Petulant) aſſiſted in writing a letter to himſelf. This epiſtle, however, (as we have ſince been informed,) received ſome

additional touches from the pen of the late Lord Dacre.—*Tantæ molis erat*——. But all would not ſucceed. The ſubſcribers to Mr. Capell's notes were ſo few, that his editor was aſhamed to print their names; and the book itſelf is become waſte paper.

39. Diſcours ſur Shakſpeare et ſur Monſieur de Voltaire, par Joſeph Baretti, Secretaire pour la Correſpondence etrangere de l'Academie Royale Britannique. 8vo. 1777.

40. An Eſſay on the dramatick Character of Sir John Falſtaff. [By Mr. Maurice Morgan.] 8vo. 1777.

41. A Letter from Monſieur de Voltaire to the French Academy. Tranſlated from the original Edition juſt publiſhed at Paris. 8vo. 1777.

42. A Supplement to the Edition of Shakſpeare's Plays publiſhed in 1778.—Containing additional Obſervations by ſeveral of the former Commentators; to which are ſubjoined the Genuine Poems of the ſame Author, and Seven Plays that have been aſcribed to him; with Notes, by the Editor [Mr. Malone.] and others. 2 Vols. 8vo. 1780.

43. Notes and Various Readings to Shakſpeare, by Edward Capell. 3 Vols. 4to. 1781.

44. Remarks critical and illuſtrative on the Text and Notes of the laſt Edition of Shakſpeare. [i. e. Mr. Steevens's Edition in 1778.] [By Mr. Ritſon.] 8vo. 1783.

45. Contes moraux, amuſans & inſtructifs, a l'uſage de la jeunette, tirès des Tragedies de Shakſpeare; par M. Perrin, Editeur de la nouvelle

Edition du Dictionaire de Chambaud, &c.—A Londres, chez Robſon, Cadell, & Elmſly. 1783. 12mo.

46. A familiar Addreſs to the curious in Engliſh Poetry, more particularly to the Readers of Shakſpeare. By Therſites Literarius. 8vo. 1784.

47. A Second Appendix to Mr. Malone's Supplement to the laſt Edition of the Plays of Shakſpeare; containing additional Obſervations by the Editor of the Supplement. 8vo. 1793.—Of this Appendix only fifty Copies were printed.

48. Eſſays on Shakſpeare's dramatick Characters of Richard the Third, King Lear, and Timon of Athens. To which are added, an Eſſay on the Faults of Shakſpeare, and additional Obſervations on the Character of Hamlet. By Mr. Richardſon. 12mo. 1784.

49. The Beauties of Shakſpeare ſelected from his Works. To which are added, the principal Scenes in the ſame Author. 12mo. 1784. Printed for Kearſley.

50. Dramatick Miſcellanies, conſiſting of critical Obſervations on the Plays of Shakſpeare, &c. By Thomas Davies. 3 Vols. Crown 8vo. 1784.

51. Comments on the laſt Edition of Shakſpeare's Plays. By John Monck Maſon, Eſq. 8vo. 1785.

52. Remarks on ſome of the Characters of Shakſpeare. By the Author of Obſervations on modern Gardening. [Mr. Whateley.] 8vo. 1785.

53. Macbeth Reconſidered; an Eſſay intended as an Anſwer to Part of the Remarks on ſome of the Characters of Shakſpeare. [By J. P. Kemble.] 8vo. 1786.

54. A Fragment on Shakſpeare, extracted from Advice to a young Poet. By the Reverend Martin Sherlock. Tranſlated from the French. 8vo. 1786.

55. A Concordance to Shakſpeare; ſuited to all the Editions, in which the diſtinguiſhed and parallel Paſſages in the Plays of that juſtly-admired Writer are methodically arranged. To which are added, Three Hundred Notes and Illuſtrations entirely new. [By A. Beckett.] 8vo. 1787.

56. Imperfect Hints towards a new Edition of Shakſpeare, written chiefly in the Year 1782. 4to. 1787.

The Same. Part the Second and laſt. [By Samuel Felton.] 4to. 1788.

57. Eſſays on Shakſpeare's dramatick Character of Sir John Falſtaff, and on his Imitation of Female Characters. To which are added, ſome general Obſervations on the Study of Shakſpeare. By Mr. Richardſon. 12mo, 1788.

58. The Quip Modeſt; a few Words by way of Supplement to Remarks critical and illuſtrative on the Text and Notes of the laſt Edition of Shakſpeare; occaſioned by a Republication of that Edition [1785] reviſed and augmented by the Editor of Dodſley's Old Plays. [By Mr. Ritſon.] 8vo. 1788.

59. An Index to the remarkable Paſſages and Words made Uſe of by Shakſpeare; calculated to

point out the different Meanings to which the Words are applied. By the Reverend Samuel Ayſcough. 8vo. 1790.

60. Curſory Criticiſms on the Edition of Shakſpeare publiſhed by Edmond Malone. [By Mr. Ritſon.] 8vo. 1792.

61. A Letter to the Reverend Richard Farmer, D. D. Maſter of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, relative to the Edition of Shakſpeare publiſhed in 1790, and ſome late Criticiſms on that Work. By Edmond Malone, Eſq. 8vo. 1792.

62. Curſory Remarks upon the Arrangement of the Plays of Shakſpeare, occaſioned by reading Mr. Malone's Eſſay on the chronological Order of thoſe celebrated Pieces. By the Reverend J. Hurdis, M. A. 8vo. 1792.

63. A Specimen of a Commentary on Shakſpeare, containing, I. Notes on As you like it. II. An Attempt to explain and illuſtrate various Paſſages, on a new Principle of Criticiſm, derived from Mr. Locke's Doctrine of the Aſſociation of Ideas. By the Reverend Walter Whiter. 8vo. 1794.

64. The Story of the Moor of Venice. Tranſlated from the Italian. With Two Eſſays on Shakſpeare, and preliminary Obſervations. By Wolſtenholme Parr, A. M. late Fellow of Corpus Chriſti College, Oxford. 1795.

65. Obſervations on Hamlet; and on the Motives which moſt probably induced Shakſpeare to fix upon the Story of Amleth, from the Daniſh Chronicle of Saxo Grammaticus, for the Plot of that

Tragedy: Being an Attempt to prove that he deſigned it as an indirect Cenſure on Mary Queen of Scots. By James Plumptre, M.A. 8vo. 1796.

66. A Letter to George Steevens, Eſq. Containing a critical Examination of the Papers of Shakſpeare, publiſhed by Mr. Samuel Ireland. To which are added, Extracts from Vortigern. By James Boaden, Eſq. Author of Fontainville Foreſt, &c. 8vo. 1796.

67. Shakſpeare's Manuſcripts, in the Poſſeſſion of Mr. Ireland, examined reſpecting the internal and external Evidences of their Authenticity. By Philalethes. [Mr. Webb.] 8vo. 1796.

68. Free Reflections on Miſcellaneous Papers and Inſtruments, under the Hand and Seal of Shakſpeare, in the Poſſeſſion of Samuel Ireland, of Norfolk Street. To which are added, Extracts from an unpubliſhed Play, called the Virgin Queen. Written by, or in Imitation of, Shakſpeare. By Francis Godolphin Waldron. London. 8vo. 1796.

69. A Comparative Review of the Opinions of Mr. James Boaden, [Editor of the Oracle] in February, March, and April, 1795, and of James Boaden, Eſq. [Author of Fontainville Foreſt, and of a Letter to George Steevens, Eſq.] in February 1796, relative to the Shakſpeare MSS. By a Friend to Conſiſtency. 8vo. 1796.

70. Vortigern under Conſideration, with General Remarks on Mr. James Boaden's Letter to George Steevens, Eſq. relative to the Manuſcripts, Drawings, Seals, &c. aſcribed to Shakſpeare, and in the Poſſeſſion of Samuel Ireland, Eſq. 8vo. 1796.

71. An Inquiry into the Authenticity of certain Miſcellaneous Papers and Legal Inſtruments, publiſhed Dec. 24, 1795, and attributed to Shakſpeare, Queen Elizabeth, and Henry, Earl of Southampton: Illuſtrated by Fac-ſimiles of the genuine Handwriting of Shakſpeare, never before exhibited; and other Authentick Documents: In a Letter addreſſed to the Right Hon. James, Earl of Charlemont. By Edmond Malone, Eſq. 8vo. 1796.

72. An Authentic Account of the Shakſperian Manuſcripts, &c. By W. H. Ireland. 8vo. 1796.

73. Mr. Ireland's Vindication of his Conduct reſpecting the Publication of the ſuppoſed Shakſpeare MSS. Being a Preface or Introduction to a Reply to the Critical Labors of Mr. Malone, in his "Enquiry into the Authenticity of Certain Papers, &c. &c." 8vo. 1796.

74. An Apology for the Believers in the Shakſpeare-Papers, which were exhibited in Norfolk Street. By George Chalmers, Eſq. F.R.S. S.A. 8vo. 1797.

75. An Inveſtigation of Mr. Malone's Claim to the Character of a Scholar, or Critic. Being an Examination of his Inquiry into the Authenticity of the Shakſpeare Manuſcripts, &c. By Samuel Ireland. 8vo. 1797.

76. Remarks on Shakſpeare's Tempeſt; containing an Inveſtigation of Mr. Malone's Attempt to aſcertain the Date of that Play, and various Notes and Illuſtrations of abſtruſe Readings and Paſſages. By Charles Dirrill, Eſq. [i. e. Richard Sill.] 8vo. 1797.

77. An Appendix to Obſervations on Hamlet; being an Attempt to prove that Shakſpeare deſigned that Tragedy as an indirect Cenſure on Mary Queen of Scots. Containing, I. Some Obſervations on Dramas which profeſſedly allude to the Occurrences and Characters of the Times in which they were written, and an Anſwer to the Objections brought againſt the Hypotheſis. II. Some farther Arguments in Support of it. And, III. An Anſwer to the Objections brought againſt Dr. Warburton's Hypotheſis reſpecting an Alluſion to Mary Queen of Scots in the celebrated Paſſage in the Midſummer Night's Dream. By James Plumptre, M.A. 8vo. 1797.

78. Comments on the Plays of Beaumont and Fletcher, with an Appendix, containing ſome further Obſervations on Shakſpeare, extended to the late Editions of Malone and Steevens. By the Right Honourable J. Monck Maſon. 8vo. 1798.

79. A Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakſpeare-Papers: being a Reply to Mr. Malone's Anſwer, which was early announced, but never publiſhed; with a Dedication to George Steevens, F.R.S. S.A. And a Poſtſcript to T. J. Mathias, F.R.S. S.A. the Author of the Purſuits of Literature. By George Chalmers, F.R.S. S.A. 8vo. 1799.

80. Another Eſſence of MALONE, or the Beauties of Shakſpeare's Editor. Two Parts. 8vo. 1801.[1]

81. The Shakſperian Miſcellany. By F. G. Waldron. 4to. 1802.

[1] Theſe illiberal and ſplenetick effuſions were preceded by one of the ſame caſt and complexion, entitled, "The Eſſence of MALONE, or the Beauties of that faſcinating Writer; extracted from his immortal Work in Five Hundred and Sixty-nine Pages,

ANCIENT AND MODERN

COMMENDATORY VERSES

ON

SHAKSPEARE.

On WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, who died in April, 1616.[2]

RENOWNED Spenſer, lie a thought* more nigh
To learned Chaucer; and rare Beaumont lie
A little nearer Spenſer, to make room
For Shakſpeare, in your three-fold, four-fold tomb.

juſt publiſhed; (and with his accuſtomed Felicity) entitled *Some Account of the Life and Writings of John Dryden!!*" 8vo. 1800. All the three pieces are ſaid to be the acknowledged productions of George Hardinge, Eſq. REED.

[2] In a collection of manuſcript poems which was in the poſſeſſion of the late Guſtavus Brander, Eſq. theſe verſes are entitled—"BASSE HIS ELEGIE one [*on*] poett Shakeſpeare, who died in April 1616." The MS. appears to have been written ſoon after the year 1621. In the edition of our author's poems in 1640, they are ſubſcribed with the initials W. B. only. They were erroneouſly attributed to Dr. Donne, in a quarto edition of his poems printed in 1633; but his ſon Dr. John Donne, a Civilian, publiſhed a more correct edition of his father's poems in 1635, and rejected the verſes on Shakſpeare, knowing, without doubt, that they were written by another.

William Baſſe, according to Wood, [*Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 812,] "was of Moreton, near Thame in Oxfordſhire, and

* ——*a thought*—] i. e. *a little, a ſmall ſpace*; the phraſeology of the time. See note on *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act III. ſc. iv. Vol. VI. p. 106. REED.

To lodge all four in one bed make a ſhift
Until doomſday; for hardly will a fift[3]

was ſometime a retainer to the Lord Wenman of Thame Park." There are ſome verſes by him in *Annalia Dubrenſia*, 4to. 1636; and in *Bathurſt's Life and Remains*, by the Reverend Thomas Warton, 8vo. 1761, there is a poem by Dr. Bathurſt "to Mr. William Baſſe, upon the *intended* publication of his Poems, Jan. 13, 1651." The volume never, I believe, appeared.

From the words "*who died in April*, 1616," it may be inferred that theſe lines were written recently after Shakſpeare's death, when the month and year in which he died were well known. At a more diſtant period the month would probably have been forgotten; and that was not an age of ſuch curioſity as would have induced a poet to ſearch the regiſter at Stratford on ſuch a ſubject. From the addreſs to Chaucer and Spenſer it ſhould ſeem, that when theſe verſes were compoſed the writer thought it probable that a cenotaph would be erected to Shakſpeare in Weſtminſter Abbey.

There is a copy of theſe lines in a manuſcript volume of poems written by W. Herrick and others, among Rawlinſon's Collections in the Bodleian library at Oxford; and another among the Sloanian MSS in the Muſeum, N°. 1702. In the Oxford copy they are entitled "Shakſpeare's Epitaph;" but the author is not mentioned. There are ſome ſlight variations in the different copies, which I ſhall ſet down.

Line 2. To rare Beaumond, and learned Beaumond lie, &c. Edit. 1633.

Line 5. To *lodge in one bed all four* make a ſhift. MS. Brander.
To lodge all four in one bed, &c. MS. R. and S.
To *lie* all four, &c. Edit. 1633.

Line 7. So B. S. and R.
—— by *fates* be ſlain. Edit. 1633.

Line 8. So B. and S.
—— *will* be drawn again. R.
—— *need* be drawn again. 1633.

Line 9. But if precedency *of* death, &c. Edit. 1633.
If your precedency *in* death, &c. B. R. S.

Line 10. So B. R and edit. 1633.
A fourth to have place in your ſepulcher.—S.

Line 11. So, B. and R.
—— under this *curled* marble of thine own. Edit. 1633.
—— under this *fable*, &c. S.

Betwixt this day and that by fate be ſlain,
For whom your curtains may be drawn again.
But if precedency in death doth bar
A fourth place in your ſacred ſepulchre,
Under this carved marble of thine own,
Sleep, rare tragedian, Shakſpeare, ſleep alone.
Thy unmoleſted peace, unſhared cave,
Poſſeſs, as lord, not tenant, of thy grave;
That unto us and others it may be
Honour hereafter to be laid by thee.

WILLIAM BASSE.

To the Memory of my Beloved
the Author, Mr. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE,
and what he hath left us.

To draw no envy, Shakſpeare, on thy name,
Am I thus ample to thy book, and fame;
While I confeſs thy writings to be ſuch,
As neither man, nor muſe, can praiſe too much;

Line 12. So, B. S. and edit. 1633.
Sleep, rare *comedian*, &c. R.
Line 13. So, B and R.
Thine unmoleſted peace, unſhared cave.—S.
Thy unmoleſted peace *in an unſhared* cave.—
Edit. 1633.
Line 14. So, B.
Poſſeſs as lord not tenant *of the* grave. S.
——————————*to thy* grave. R.
This couplet is not in edit. 1633.
Line 15. So, edit. 1633.
That unto us, *or* others, &c. B. R. and S.

MALONE.

[3] *Fifth* was formerly corruptly written and pronounced *fift*. I have adhered to the old ſpelling on account of the rhyme. This corrupt pronunciation yet prevails in Scotland, and in many parts of England. MALONE.

'Tis true, and all men's ſuffrage: but theſe ways
Were not the paths I meant unto thy praiſe:
For ſeeliеſt ignorance on theſe may light,
Which, when it ſounds at beſt, but echoes right;
Or blind affection, which doth ne'er advance
The truth, but gropes, and urgeth all by chance;
Or crafty malice might pretend this praiſe,
And think to ruin, where it ſeem'd to raiſe:
Theſe are, as ſome infamous bawd, or whore,
Should praiſe a matron; what could hurt her more?
But thou art proof againſt them; and, indeed,
Above the ill fortune of them, or the need:
I, therefore, will begin:—Soul of the age,
The applauſe, delight, the wonder of our ſtage,
My Shakſpeare, riſe! I will not lodge thee by
Chaucer, or Spenſer; or bid Beaumont lie
A little further, to make thee a room:[4]
Thou art a monument without a tomb;
And art alive ſtill, while thy book doth live,
And we have wits to read, and praiſe to give.
That I not mix thee ſo, my brain excuſes;
I mean, with great but diſproportion'd muſes:
For, if I thought my judgment were of years,
I ſhould commit thee ſurely with thy peers;
And tell—how far thou didſt our Lyly outſhine,[5]
Or ſporting Kyd,[6] or Marlowe's mighty line.[7]

[4] ——*to make thee a room:*] See the preceding verſes by Baſſe. MALONE.

[5] ——*our* Lyly *outſhine,*] *Lyly* wrote nine plays during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, viz. *Alexander and Campaſpe*, T. C.; *Endymion*, C.; *Galatea*, C.; *Loves Metamorphoſis*, Dram. Paſt.; *Maids Metamorphoſis*, C.; *Mother Bombie*, C.; *Mydas*, C.; *Sapho and Phao*, C.; and *Woman in the Moon*, C. To the pedantry of this author perhaps we are indebted for the firſt attempt to poliſh and reform our language. See his *Euphues and Euphues and his England*. STEVENS.

[6] ——*or ſporting* Kyd,] It appears from Heywood's *Actor's*

And though thou hadſt ſmall Latin, and leſs Greek,
From thence to honour thee, I would not ſeek

Vindication that Thomas Kyd was the author of the *Spaniſh Tragedy*. The late Mr. Hawkins was of opinion that *Soliman and Perſeda* was by the ſame hand. The only piece, however, which has deſcended to us, even with the initial letters of his name affixed to it, is *Pompey the Great his fair Cornelia's Tragedy*, which was firſt publiſhed in 1594, and, with ſome alteration in the title-page, again in 1595. This is no more than a tranſlation from *Robert Garnier*, a French poet, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf during the reigns of Charles IX. Henry III. and Henry IV. and died at Mans in 1602, in the 50th year of his age. STEEVENS.

[7] —— *or* Marlowe's *mighty line.*] Marlowe was a performer as well as an author. His contemporary, Heywood, calls him *the beſt of our poets*. He wrote ſix tragedies, viz. *Dr. Fauſtus's Tragical Hiſtory*; *King Edward II.*; *Jew of Malta*; *Luſt's Dominion*; *Maſſacre of Paris*; and *Tamburlaine the Great*, in two parts. He likewiſe joined with Naſh in writing *Dido Queen of Carthage*, and had begun a tranſlation of Muſæus's *Hero and Leander*, which was finiſhed by Chapman, and publiſhed in 1606. STEEVENS.

Chriſtopher Marlowe was born probably about the year 1566, as he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at Cambridge, in 1583. I do not believe that he ever was an actor, nor can I find any authority for it higher than the *Theatrum Poetarum* of Philips, in 1674, which is inaccurate in many circumſtances. Beard, who four years after Marlowe's death gave a particular account of him, does not ſpeak of him as an actor. "He was," ſays that writer, "by profeſſion a ſcholler, brought up from his youth in the univerſitie of Cambridge, but by practice *a playmaker* and a *poet* of ſcurrilitie." Neither Drayton, nor Decker, nor Nathe, nor the author of *The Return from Parnaſſus*, 1606, nor Heywood in his prologue to *The Jew of Malta*, give the ſlighteſt intimation of Marlowe's having trod the ſtage. He was ſtabbed in the ſtreet, and died of the wound, in 1593. His *Hero and Leander* was publiſhed in quarto, in 1598, by Edward Blount, as an imperfect work. The fragment ended with this line:

"Dang'd down to hell her loathſome carriage."

Chapman completed the poem, and publiſhed it as it now appears, in 1600. MALONE.

For names; but call forth thund'ring Æſchylus,
Euripides, and Sophocles, to us,
Pacuvius, Accius, him of Cordoua dead,
To life again, to hear thy buſkin tread
And ſhake a ſtage; or, when thy ſocks were on,
Leave thee alone; for the compariſon
Of all that inſolent Greece, or haughty Rome,
Sent forth, or ſince did from their aſhes come.
Triumph, my Britain! thou haſt one to ſhow,
To whom all ſcenes of Europe homage owe.
He was not of an age, but for all time;
And all the muſes ſtill were in their prime,
When like Apollo he came forth to warm
Our ears, or like a Mercury to charm.
Nature herſelf was proud of his deſigns,
And joy'd to wear the dreſſing of his lines;
Which were ſo richly ſpun, and woven ſo fit,
As, ſince, ſhe will vouchſafe no other wit:
The merry Greek, tart Ariſtophanes,
Neat Terence, witty Plautus, now not pleaſe;
But antiquated and deſerted lie,
As they were not of Nature's family.
Yet muſt I not give Nature all; thy art,
My gentle Shakſpeare, muſt enjoy a part:[8]—
For though the poet's matter nature be,
His art doth give the faſhion: and that he,
Who caſts to write a living line, muſt ſweat,
(Such as thine are) and ſtrike the ſecond heat
Upon the muſes' anvil; turn the ſame,
(And himſelf with it) that he thinks to frame;
Or, for the laurel, he may gain a ſcorn,—
For a good poet's made, as well as born:

[8] ——————— *thy* art,
My gentle Shakſpeare, muſt enjoy a part:] Yet this writer in his converſation with Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden in 1619, ſaid, that Shakſpeare "wanted *art*, and ſometimes ſenſe." MALONE.

And ſuch wert thou. Look, how the father's face
Lives in his iſſue; even ſo the race
Of Shakſpeare's mind, and manners, brightly ſhines
In his well-torned and true-filed lines;[9]
In each of which he ſeems to ſhake a lance,
As brandiſh'd at the eyes of ignorance.
Sweet ſwan of Avon, what a ſight it were,
To ſee thee in our waters yet appear;

[9] —— *true-filed lines*;] The ſame praiſe is given to Shakſpeare by a preceding writer. "As Epius Stolo ſaid that the Muſes would ſpeak with Plautus his tongue, if they would ſpeak Latin, ſo I ſay that the Muſes would ſpeak with Shakſpeare's fine *filed* phraſe, if they would ſpeak Engliſh." *Wit's Treaſury*, by Francis Meres, 1598.

It is ſomewhat ſingular that at a ſubſequent period Shakſpeare was cenſured for the want of that elegance which is here juſtly attributed to him. "Though all the laws of Heroick Poem," ſays the author of *Theatrum Poetarum*, 1674, "all the laws of tragedy, were exactly obſerved, yet ſtill this *tour entrejanté*, this poetick *energie*, if I may ſo call it, would be required to give life to all the reſt; which ſhines through the roughеſt, moſt unpoliſh'd and antiquated language, and may haply be wanting in the moſt polite and reformed. Let us obſerve Spenſer, with all his ruſtick obſolete words, with all his rough-hewn clouterly phraſes, yet take him throughout, and we ſhall find in him a graceful and poetick majeſtie: in like manner Shakſpeare, in ſpite of all his *unfiled* expreſſions, his rambling and indigeſted fancies, the laughter of the critical, yet muſt be confeſs'd a poet above many that go beyond him in literature ſome degrees."

MALONE.

In his well-torned *and true-filed lines*;] Jonſon is here tranſlating the claſſick phraſes *tornati & limati verſus*. Does not the poet in the next line, by the expreſſion *ſhake a lance*, intend to play on the name of *Shakſpeare*? So, in *Two Bookes of Epigrammes and Epitaphs*, by Thomas Bancroft, Lond. 1639, 4to:

"To SHAKSPEARE.

"Thou haſt ſo uſed thy pen, (or *ſhooke thy ſpeare*,)
"That poets ſtartle, nor thy wit come near."

Dryden, in his Dedication to his Tranſlation of Juvenal, terms theſe verſes by Jonſon *an inſolent, ſparing, and invidious panegyrick*. HOLT WHITE.

And make thoſe flights upon the banks of Thames,
That ſo did take Eliza, and our James!
But ſtay; I ſee thee in the hemiſphere
Advanc'd, and made a conſtellation there:—
Shine forth, thou ſtar of poets; and with rage,
Or influence, chide, or cheer, the drooping ſtage;
Which, ſince thy flight from hence, hath mourn'd like night,
And deſpairs day, but for thy volume's light!

BEN JONSON.[1]

[1] —— *extinctus amabitur idem.*

This obſervation of Horace was never more completely verified than by the poſthumous applauſe which Ben Jonſon has beſtowed on Shakſpeare:

"—— the gracious *Duncan*
"Was pitied of *Macbeth*:—marry, *he was dead.*"

Let us now compare the preſent eulogium of old *Ben* with ſuch of his other ſentiments as have reached poſterity.

In April, 1748, when *The Lover's Melancholy*, by Ford, (a friend and contemporary of Shakſpeare,) was revived for a benefit, the following letter appeared in the *General*, now the *Public Advertiſer*:

"—— It is hoped that the following *gleaning of theatrical hiſtory* will readily obtain a place in your paper. It is taken from a pamphlet written in the reign of Charles I. with this quaint title: 'Old *Ben's Light Heart* made heavy by Young *John's Melancholy Lover*;' and as it contains ſome hiſtorical anecdotes and altercations concerning *Ben Jonſon*, *Ford*, *Shakſpeare*, and *The Lover's Melancholy*, it is imagined that a few extracts from it at this juncture, will not be unentertaining to the publick."

'Thoſe who have any knowledge of the theatre in the reigns of *James* and *Charles* the Firſt, muſt know, that *Ben Jonſon*, from great critical language, *which was then the portion but of very few*, his merit as a poet, and his conſtant aſſociation with men of letters, did, for a conſiderable time, *give laws to the ſtage*.'

'*Ben* was of a nature *ſplenetic and ſour*; with a ſhare of envy, (for every auxious genius has ſome) more than was warrantable in ſociety. By education rather *critically* than *politely* learned; which ſwell'd his mind into an oſtentatious pride *of his own*

Upon the Lines, and Life, of the famous Scenick Poet, Maſter WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

Thoſe hands which you ſo clapp'd, go now and wring,
You Britains brave; for done are Shakſpeare's days;
His days are done that made the dainty plays,
Which made the globe of heaven and earth to ring:

works, and an overbearing *inexorable* judgment of his *contemporaries*.'

'This raiſed him many enemies, who towards the cloſe of his life endeavoured to dethrone *this tyrant*, as the pamphlet ſtiles him, out of the dominion of the theatre. And what greatly contributed to their deſign, was the *ſlights* and *malignances* which the *rigid Ben* too frequently threw out againſt the *lowly Shakſpeare*, whoſe fame ſince his death, as appears by the pamphlet, was grown too great for *Ben's envy* either to *bear* with or *wound*.'

'It would greatly exceed the limits of your paper to ſet down all the *contempts* and *invectives* which were uttered and written by *Ben*, and are collected and produced in *this pamphlet*, as unanſwerable and ſhaming evidences to prove his *ill nature* and *ingratitude* to *Shakſpeare*, who firſt introduced him to the *theatre and fame*.'

'But though the whole of theſe invectives cannot be ſet down at preſent, ſome few of the heads may not be diſagreeable, which are as follow.'

'That the man had *imagination* and *wit* none could deny, but that they were *ever* guided by *true judgment* in the *rules* and *conduct* of a piece, none could with juſtice aſſert, *both* being ever ſervile to raiſe the *laughter of fools* and the *wonder of the ignorant*. That he was a good poet only *in part*,—being ignorant of *all dramatick laws*,—had *little* Latin—*leſs* Greek—and ſpeaking of plays, &c.

'To make a child new ſwaddled, to proceed
'Man, and then ſhoot up, in one beard and weed,
'Paſt threeſcore years: or, with three ruſty ſwords,
'And help of ſome few *foot-and-half-foot* words,

Dry'd is that vein, dry'd is the Theſpian ſpring,
Turn'd all to tears, and Phœbus clouds his rays;
That corpſe, that coffin, now beſtick thoſe bays,
Which crown'd him poet firſt, then poets' king.

'Fight over *York* and *Lancaſter's* long jars,
'And in the tiring-houſe bring wounds to ſcars.
'He rather prays you will be pleas'd to ſee
'One ſuch to-day, as *other plays ſhould be*;
'Where neither *chorus* wafts you o'er the ſeas,' &c.

'This and ſuch like behaviour, brought *Ben* at laſt from being the *lawgiver* of the theatre to be the *ridicule* of it, being *perſonally* introduced there in ſeveral pieces, to the *ſatisfaction* of the publick, who are ever fond of encouraging *perſonal* ridicule, when the follies and vices of the object are ſuppoſed to deſerve it.

'But what wounded his pride and fame moſt ſenſibly, was the preference which the publick and moſt of his contemporary wits, gave to *Ford's* LOVER'S MELANCHOLY, before his NEW INN OR LIGHT HEART. They were both brought on in the *ſame week* and on the ſame ſtage; where *Ben's was damn'd*, and *Ford's* received with *uncommon applauſe*: and what made this circumſtance ſtill more galling, was, that *Ford* was at the head of the partiſans who ſupported *Shakſpeare's fame* againſt *Ben Jonſon's Invectives*.'

'This ſo incenſed old *Ben*, that as an everlaſting ſtigma upon his audience, he prefixed this title to his play—"The *New Inn*, or *Light Heart*. A comedy, as it was *never acted*, but moſt negligently play'd by ſome, the *King's idle ſervants*; and more ſqueamiſhly beheld and cenſur'd by others, the *King's fooliſh ſubjects*." This title is followed by an abuſive preface upon the audience and reader.'

'Immediately upon this, he wrote his memorable ode againſt the publick, beginning—

"Come, leave the loathed ſtage,
"And the more loathſome age," &c.

The revenge he took againſt *Ford*, was to write an epigram on him as a plagiary.

"*Playwright*, by chance, hearing *toys I had writ*,
"Cry'd to my face—they were th' elixir of wit.
"And I muſt now believe him, for to-day
"[illegible] of my *jeſts*, then ſtolu, paſs'd him a play."

alluding to a character in *The Ladies Trial*, which *Ben* ſays *Ford* ſtole from him.'

If tragedies might any prologue have,
All thoſe he made would ſcarce make one to this;
Where fame, now that he gone is to the grave,
(Death's publick tiring-houſe) the Nuntius is:

'The *next* charge againſt *Ford* was, that *The Lover's Melancholy* was not his own, but *purloined from Shakſpeare's papers*, by the connivance of *Heminge and Condel*, who *in conjunction with Ford*, had the reviſal of them.'

'The malice of this charge is gravely refuted, and afterwards laughed at in many verſes and epigrams, the beſt of which are thoſe that follow, with which I ſhall cloſe this theatrical extract:'

"To my worthy friend, *John Ford*.

"'Tis ſaid, from Shakſpeare's mine your play you drew:
"What need?—when Shakſpeare ſtill ſurvives in you;
"But grant it were from his vaſt treaſury reft,
"That *plund'rer Ben* ne'er made *ſo rich a theft*."

Thomas May.

"Upon *Ben Jonſon*, and his Zany, *Tom Randolph*.

"Quoth *Ben* to *Tom*, the *Lover's* ſtole,
"'Tis *Shakſpeare's* every word;
"Indeed, ſays *Tom*, upon the whole,
"'Tis much too good for *Ford*.

"Thus *Ben* and *Tom*, the *dead* ſtill praiſe,
"The *living* to decry;
"For none muſt dare to wear the bays,
"Till *Ben* and *Tom* both die.

"Even *Avon's ſwan* could not eſcape
"Theſe letter-tyrant elves;
"They on his fame contriv'd a rape,
"To raiſe their pedant ſelves.

"But after times with full conſent
"This truth will all acknowledge,—
"*Shakſpeare* and *Ford* from heaven were ſent,
"*But Ben and Tom from college*."

Endymion Porter.

Mr. Macklin the comedian was the author of this letter; but the pamphlet which furniſhed his materials, was loſt in its paſſage from Ireland.

The following ſtanza, from a copy of verſes by Shirley, pre-

For, though his line of life went ſoon about,
The life yet of his lines ſhall never out.

HUGH HOLLAND.*

To the Memory of the deceaſed Author,
Maſter W. SHAKSPEARE.

Shakſpeare, at length thy pious fellows give
The world thy works; thy works, by which outlive
Thy tomb, thy name muſt: when that ſtone is rent,
And time diſſolves thy Stratford monument,
Here we alive ſhall view thee ſtill; this book,
When braſs and marble fade, ſhall make thee look
Freſh to all ages; when poſterity
Shall loath what's new, think all is prodigy
That is not Shakſpeare's, every line, each verſe,
Here ſhall revive, redeem thee from thy herſe.
Nor fire, nor cank'ring age,—as Naſo ſaid
Of his,—thy wit-fraught book ſhall once invade:
Nor ſhall I e'er believe or think thee dead,
Though miſs'd, until our bankrout ſtage be ſped
(Impoſſible) with ſome new ſtrain to out-do
Paſſions "of Juliet, and her Romeo;"

fixed to Ford's *Love's Sacrifice*, 1633, alludes to the ſame diſpute, and is apparently addreſſed to Ben Jonſon:

"Look here *thou* that haſt *malice* to the ſtage,
"And *impudence* enough for the whole age;
"*Voluminouſly ignorant!* be vext
"To read this tragedy, and thy owne be next."

STEEVENS.

* See Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* edit. 1721, Vol. I. p. 583.

STEEVENS.

Or till I hear a ſcene more nobly take,
Than when thy half-ſword parlying Romans ſpake:
Till theſe, till any of thy volume's reſt,
Shall with more fire, more feeling, be expreſs'd,
Be ſure, our Shakſpeare, thou canſt never die,
But, crown'd with laurel, live eternally.

L. DIGGES.[3]

To the Memory of Maſter W. SHAKSPEARE.

We wonder'd, Shakſpeare, that thou went'ſt ſo
ſoon
From the world's ſtage to the grave's tiring-room:
We thought thee dead; but this thy printed worth
Tells thy ſpectators, that thou went'ſt but forth
To enter with applauſe: an actor's art
Can die, and live to act a ſecond part:
That's but an exit of mortality,
This a re-entrance to a plaudite. J. M.[4]

Upon the Effigies of my worthy Friend,
The Author, Maſter WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, and
his Works.

Spectator, this life's ſhadow is;—to ſee
The truer image, and a livelier he,

[3] See Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienſes*, Vol. I. p. 599 and 600, edit. 1721. His tranſlation of Claudian's *Rape of Proſerpine* was entered on the Stationers' books, Oct. 4, 1617. STEEVENS.

It was printed in the ſame year. MALONE.

[4] Perhaps John Marſton. STEEVENS.

Turn reader: but obſerve his comick vein,
Laugh; and proceed next to a tragick ſtrain,
Then weep: ſo,—when thou find'ſt two contraries,
Two different paſſions from thy rapt ſoul riſe,—
Say, (who alone effect ſuch wonders could,)
Rare Shakſpeare to the life thou doſt behold.[5]

On worthy Maſter SHAKSPEARE,
and his Poems.

A mind reflecting ages paſt, whoſe clear
And equal ſurface can make things appear,
Diſtant a thouſand years, and repreſent
Them in their lively colours, juſt extent:
To outrun haſty time,[6] retrieve the fates,
Roll back the heavens, blow ope the iron gates
Of death and Lethe, where confuſed lie
Great heaps of ruinous mortality:
In that deep duſky dungeon, to diſcern
A royal ghoſt from churls; by art to learn
The phyſiognomy of ſhades, and give
Them ſudden birth, wond'ring how oft they live;
What ſtory coldly tells, what poets feign
At ſecond hand, and picture without brain,
Senſeleſs and ſoul-leſs ſhews: To give a ſtage,—
Ample, and true with life,—voice, action, age,
As Plato's year, and new ſcene of the world,
Them unto us, or us to them had hurl'd:

[5] The verſes firſt appeared in the folio, 1632. There is no name aſcribed to them. MALONE.

[6] *To outrun haſty time,*]

"And panting time toil'd after him in vain."

Dr. Johnſon's Prologue.

STEEVENS.

To raiſe our ancient ſovereigns from their herſe,
Make kings his ſubjects; by exchanging verſe
Enlive their pale trunks, that the preſent age
Joys in their joy, and trembles at their rage:
Yet ſo to temper paſſion, that our ears
Take pleaſure in their pain, and eyes in tears
Both weep and ſmile; fearful at plots ſo ſad,
Then laughing at our fear; abus'd, and glad
To be abus'd; affected with that truth
Which we perceive is falſe, pleas'd in that ruth
At which we ſtart, and, by elaborate play,
Tortur'd and tickl'd; by a crab-like way
Time paſt made paſtime, and in ugly ſort
Diſgorging up his ravin for our ſport:—
—While the plebeian imp, from lofty throne,
Creates and rules a world, and works upon
Mankind by ſecret engines; now to move
A chilling pity, then a rigorous love;
To ſtrike up and ſtroke down, both joy and ire;
To ſteer the affections; and by heavenly fire
Mold us anew, ſtoln from ourſelves:——
This,—and much more, which cannot be expreſs'd
But by himſelf, his tongue, and his own breaſt,—
Was Shakſpeare's freehold; which his cunning brain
Improv'd by favour of the nine-fold train;—
The buſkin'd muſe, the comick queen, the grand
And louder tone of Clio, nimble hand
And nimbler foot of the melodious pair,
The ſilver-voiced lady, the moſt fair
Calliope, whoſe ſpeaking ſilence[7] daunts,
And the whoſe praiſe the heavenly body chants,

[7] ——*ſpeaking ſilence*——]
"*Silence* that *ſpoke*, and eloquence of eyes." Pope's *Hom.*
STEEVENS.

Theſe jointly woo'd him, envying one another;—
Obey'd by all as ſpouſe, but lov'd as brother;—
And wrought a curious robe, of ſable grave,
Freſh green, and pleaſant yellow, red moſt brave,
And conſtant blue, rich purple, guiltleſs white,
The lowly ruſſet, and the ſcarlet bright:
Branch'd and embroider'd like the painted ſpring;
Each leaf match'd with a flower, and each ſtring
Of golden wire, each line of ſilk: there run
Italian works, whoſe thread the ſiſters ſpun;
And there did ſing, or ſeem to ſing, the choice
Birds of a foreign note and various voice:
Here hangs a moſſy rock; there plays a fair
But chiding fountain, purled: not the air,
Not clouds, nor thunder, but were living drawn;
Nor out of common tiffany or lawn,
But fine materials, which the muſes know,
And only know the countries where they grow.

Now, when they could no longer him enjoy,
In mortal garments pent,—death may deſtroy,
They ſay, his body; but his verſe ſhall live,
And more than nature takes our hand ſhall give:
In a leſs volume, but more ſtrongly bound,
Shakſpeare ſhall breathe and ſpeak; with laurel crown'd,
Which never fades; fed with ambroſian meat,
In a well-lined veſture, rich, and neat:
So with this robe they clothe him, bid him wear it;
For time ſhall never ſtain, nor envy tear it.

The friendly Admirer of his Endowments,
J. M. S.[8]

[8] Probably, Jaſper Mayne, *Student*. He was born in the year 1604, and became a member of Chriſt Church, in Oxford, in 1623, where he was ſoon afterwards elected a Student. In 1629

A Remembrance of ſome Engliſh Poets. By Richard Barnefield, 1598.

And Shakſpeare thou, whoſe honey-flowing vein,
(Pleaſing the world,) thy praiſes doth contain,
Whoſe *Venus*, and whoſe *Lucrece*, ſweet and chaſte,
Thy name in fame's immortal book hath plac'd,
Live ever you, at leaſt in fame live ever!
Well may the body die, but fame die never.

England's Mourning Garment, &c. 1603.

Nor doth the ſilver-tongued Melicert
Drop from his honied muſe one fable tear,
To mourn her death that graced his deſert,
And to his laies open'd her royal ear.
Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth,
And ſing her *Rape*, done by that *Tarquin*, death.

To Maſter W. SHAKSPEARE.

Shakſpeare, that nimble Mercury thy brain
Lulls many-hundred Argus' eyes aſleep,
So fit for all thou faſhioneſt thy vein,
At the horſe-foot fountain thou haſt drunk full deep.

he took a bachelor's degree, and in June, 1631, that of a Maſter of Arts. Theſe verſes firſt appeared in the folio, 1632.
MALONE.

Virtue's or vice's theme to thee all one is;
Who loves chaſte life, there's *Lucrece* for a teacher:
Who liſt read luſt, there's *Venus* and *Adonis*
True model of a moſt laſcivious lecher.
Beſides, in plays thy wit winds like Meander,
When needy new compoſers borrow more
Than Terence doth from Plautus or Menander:
But to praiſe thee aright, I want thy ſtore.
Then let thine own works thine own worth upraiſe,
And help to adorn thee with deſerved bays.

Epigram 92, in an ancient collection, entitled *Run and a great Caſt*, 4to. by Tho. Freeman, 1614.

Extract from Michael Drayton's "Elegy to Henry Reynolds, Eſq. of Poets and Poeſy."

Shakſpeare, thou hadſt as ſmooth a comick vein,
Fitting the ſock, and in thy natural brain
As ſtrong conception, and as clear a rage,
As any one that traffick'd with the ſtage.

An Epitaph on the
Admirable Dramatick Poet, W. SHAKSPEARE.[9]

What needs my Shakſpeare for his honour'd bones,
The labour of an age in piled ſtones;

[9] This poem is one of thoſe prefixed to the folio edition of our author's plays, 1632, and therefore is the firſt of Milton's pieces

Or that his hallow'd reliques ſhould be hid
Under a ſtar-ypointing pyramid?
Dear ſon of memory, great heir of fame,
What need'ſt thou ſuch weak witneſs of thy name?
Thou, in our wonder and aſtoniſhment,
Haſt built thyſelf a live-long monument:
For whilſt, to the ſhame of ſlow-endeavouring art,
Thy eaſy numbers flow; and that each heart
Hath, from the leaves of thy unvalued book,
Thoſe Delphick lines with deep impreſſion took;
Then thou, our fancy of itſelf bereaving,[1]
Doſt make us marble with too much conceiving;
And, ſo ſepulcher'd, in ſuch pomp doſt lie,
That kings, for ſuch a tomb, would wiſh to die.

JOHN MILTON.[2]

Upon Maſter WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE,
the deceaſed Author.

Poets are born, not made. When I would prove
This truth, the glad remembrance I muſt love
Of never-dying Shakſpeare, who alone
Is argument enough to make that one.

that was publiſhed. It appeared, however, without even the initials of his name. STEEVENS.

[1] ——*of* itſelf *bereaving*,] So, the copy in Milton's Poems, printed by Moſely in 1645. That in the ſecond folio, 1632, has —of *herſelf* bereaving. MALONE.

[2] Theſe verſes were written by Milton in the year 1630. Notwithſtanding this juſt eulogium, and though the writer of it appears to have been a very diligent reader of the works of our poet, from whoſe rich garden he has plucked many a flower, in the true ſpirit of *four* puritanical ſanctity he cenſured King Charles I. for having made this "great heir of fame" the *cloſet companion of his ſolitudes*. See his EIKONOKΛΑΣΤΗΣ. MALONE.

First, that he was a poet, none would doubt
That heard the applauſe of what he ſees ſet out
Imprinted; where thou haſt (I will not ſay,
Reader, his *works*, for, to contrive a play,
To him 'twas none,) the pattern of all wit,
Art without art, unparallel'd as yet.
Next Nature only help'd him, for look thorough
This whole book,[3] thou ſhall find he doth not borrow
One phraſe from Greeks, nor Latins imitate,
Nor once from vulgar languages tranſlate;
Nor plagiary-like from others gleane,
Nor begs he from each witty friend a ſcene,
To piece his acts with: all that he doth write
Is pure his own; plot, language, exquiſite.
But O what praiſe more powerful can we give
The dead, than that, by him, the *king's-men* live,
His players; which ſhould they but have ſhar'd his fate,
(All elſe expir'd within the ſhort term's date,)
How could *The Globe* have proſper'd, ſince through want
Of change, the plays and poems had grown ſcant.
But, happy verſe, thou ſhalt be ſung and heard,
When hungry quills ſhall be ſuch honour barr'd.
Then vaniſh, upſtart writers to each ſtage,
You needy poetaſters of this age!
Where Shakſpeare liv'd or ſpake, Vermin, forbear!
Leſt with your froth ye ſpot them, come not near!
But if you needs muſt write, if poverty
So pinch, that otherwiſe you ſtarve and die;
On God's name may the *Bull* or *Cockpit* have
Your lame blank verſe, to keep you from the grave:

[3] The Fortune company, I find from Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript, removed to the Red Bull, and the Prince's company to the Fortune, in the year 1640; theſe verſes therefore could not have been written ſo early as 1623. MALONE.

Or let new *Fortune's*[4] younger brethren ſee,
What they can pick from your lean induſtry.
I do not wonder when you offer at
Black-friars, that you ſuffer: 'tis the fate
Of richer veins; prime judgments, that have far'd
The worſe, with this deceaſed man compar'd.
So have I ſeen, when *Cæſar* would appear,
And on the ſtage at half-ſword parley were
Brutus and *Caſsius*, O how the audience
Were raviſh'd! with what wonder they went thence!
When, ſome new day, they would not brook a line
Of tedious, though well-labour'd, *Catiline*;
Sejanus too, was irkſome: they priz'd more
"Honeſt" *Iago*, or the jealous *Moor*.
And though the *Fox* and ſubtil *Alchymiſt*,
Long intermitted, could not quite be miſs'd,
Though theſe have ſham'd all th' ancients, and might raiſe
Their author's merit with a crown of bays,
Yet theſe ſometimes, even at a friend's deſire,
Acted, have ſcarce defray'd the ſea-coal fire,
And door-keepers: when, let but *Falſtaff* come,
Hal, *Poins*, the reſt,—you ſcarce ſhall have a room,
All is ſo peſter'd: Let but *Beatrice*
And *Benedick* be ſeen, lo! in a trice
The cock-pit, galleries, boxes, all are full,
To hear *Malvolio*, that croſs-garter'd gull.
Brief, there is nothing in his wit-fraught book,
Whoſe ſound we would not hear, on whoſe worth look:

[4] This, I believe, alludes to ſome of the company of *The Fortune* playhouſe, who removed to the *Red Bull*. See a Prologue on the removing of the late *Fortune* players to *The Bull*. Tatham's *Fancies Theatre*, 1640. MALONE.

Like old-coin'd gold, whoſe lines, in every page,
Shall paſs true current to ſucceeding age.
But why do I dead *Shakſpeare's* praiſe recite?
Some ſecond *Shakſpeare* muſt of *Shakſpeare* write;
For me, 'tis needleſs: ſince an hoſt of men
Will pay, to clap his praiſe, to free my pen.[5]

LEON. DIGGES.

An Elegy on the death of that famous writer and actor, Mr. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

I dare not do thy memory that wrong,
Unto our larger griefs to give a tongue.
I'll only ſigh in earneſt, and let fall
My ſolemn tears at thy great funeral.
For every eye that rains a ſhow'r for thee,
Laments thy loſs in a ſad elegy.
Nor is it fit each humble muſe ſhould have
Thy worth his ſubject, now thou art laid in grave.
No, it's a flight beyond the pitch of thoſe,
Whoſe worthleſs pamphlets are not ſenſe in proſe.
Let learned *Jonſon* ſing a dirge for thee,
And fill our orb with mournful harmony:
But we need no remembrancer; thy fame
Shall ſtill accompany thy honour'd name
To all poſterity; and make us be
Senſible of what we loſt, in loſing thee:
Being the age's wonder; whoſe ſmooth rhymes
Did more reform than laſh the looſer times.
Nature herſelf did her own ſelf admire,
As oft as thou wert pleaſed to attire

[5] Theſe verſes are prefixed to a ſpurious edition of Shakſpeare's Poems, in ſmall octavo, printed in 1640. MALONE.

Her in her native luſtre; and confeſs,
Thy dreſſing was her chiefeſt comelineſs.
How can we then forget thee, when the age
Her chiefeſt tutor, and the widow'd ſtage
Her only favorite, in thee, hath loſt,
And Nature's ſelf, what ſhe did brag of moſt?
Sleep then, rich ſoul of numbers! whilſt poor we
Enjoy the profits of thy legacy;
And think it happineſs enough, we have
So much of thee redeemed from the grave,
As may ſuffice to enlighten future times
With the bright luſtre of thy matchleſs rhymes.[6]

In Memory of our famous SHAKSPEARE.

Sacred Spirit, whiles thy lyre
Echoed o'er the Arcadian plains,
Even Apollo did admire,
Orpheus wonder'd at thy ſtrains:

Plautus ſigh'd, Sophocles wept
Tears of anger, for to hear,
After they ſo long had ſlept,
So bright a genius ſhould appear;

Who wrote his lines with a ſun-beam,
More durable than time or fate:—
Others boldly do blaſpheme,
Like thoſe that ſeem to preach, but prate.

[6] Theſe anonymous verſes are likewiſe prefixed to Shakſpeare's Poems, 1640. MALONE.

Thou wert truly prieſt elect,
Choſen darling to the Nine,
Such a trophy to erect
By thy wit and ſkill divine.

That were all their other glories
(Thine excepted) torn away,
By thy admirable ſtories
Their garments ever ſhall be gay.

Where thy honour'd bones do lie,
(As Statius once to Maro's urn,)
Thither every year will I
Slowly tread, and ſadly mourn.

S. SHEPPARD.[7]

To SHAKSPEARE.

Thy Muſe's ſugred dainties ſeem to us
Like the fam'd apples of old Tantalus:
For we (admiring) ſee and hear thy ſtrains,
But none I ſee or hear thoſe ſweets attains.[8]

To Mr. WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

Shakſpeare, we muſt be ſilent in thy praiſe,
'Cauſe our encomions will but blaſt thy bays,
Which envy could not; that thou didſt do well,
Let thine own hiſtories prove thy chronicle.[9]

[7] This author publiſhed a ſmall volume of *Epigrams* in 1651, among which this poem in memory of Shakſpeare is found. MALONE.

[8] Theſe verſes are taken from *Two Bookes of Epigrammes and Epitaphs, by Thomas Bancroft, Lond.* 1639, 4to. HOLT WHITE.

[9] From *Wits Recreations*, &c. 12mo. 1640. STEEVENS.

In remembrance of Maſter WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE.

Ode.

I.

Beware, delighted poets, when you ſing,
To welcome nature in the early ſpring,
Your num'rous feet not tread
The banks of Avon; for each flow'r,
As it ne'er new a ſun or ſhow'r,
Hangs there the penſive head.

II.

Each tree, whoſe thick and ſpreading growth hath made
Rather a night beneath the boughs than ſhade,
Unwilling now to grow,
Looks like the plume a captain wears,
Whoſe rifled *falls* are ſteep'd i'the tears
Which from his laſt rage flow.

III.

The piteous river wept itſelf away
Long ſince, alas! to ſuch a ſwift decay,
That reach the map, and look
If you a river there can ſpy,
And, for a river, your mock'd eye
Will find a ſhallow brook.

WILLIAM D'AVENANT.

And if you leave us too, we cannot thrive,
I'll promiſe neither play nor poet live
Till ye come back: think what you do; you ſee
What audience we have: what company

To Shakſpeare comes? whoſe mirth did once beguile
Dull hours, and buſkin'd, made even ſorrow ſmile:
So lovely were the wounds, that men would ſay
They could endure the bleeding a whole day.

SHIRLEY.

See, my lov'd Britons, ſee your Shakſpeare riſe,
An awful ghoſt, conſeſs'd to human eyes!
Unnam'd, methinks, diſtinguiſh'd I had been
From other ſhades, by this eternal green,
About whoſe wreaths the vulgar poets ſtrive,
And with a touch their wither'd bays revive.
Untaught, unpractis'd, in a barbarous age,
I found not, but created firſt the ſtage:
And if I drain'd no Greek or Latin ſtore,
'Twas, that my own abundance gave me more:
On foreign trade I needed not rely,
Like fruitful Britain rich without ſupply.

DRYDEN.

Shakſpeare, who (taught by none) did firſt impart
To Fletcher wit, to labouring Jonſon art:
He, monarch-like, gave thoſe his ſubjects law,
And is that nature which they paint and draw.
Fletcher reach'd that which on his heights did grow,
Whilſt Jonſon crept and gather'd all below.
This did his love, and this his mirth digeſt:
One imitates him moſt, the other beſt.
If they have ſince out-writ all other men,
'Tis with the drops that fell from Shakſpeare's pen.

Ibid.

Our Shakſpeare wrote too in an age as bleſt,
The happieſt poet of his time, and beſt;
A gracious prince's favour cheer'd his muſe,
A conſtant favour he ne'er fear'd to loſe:
Therefore he wrote with fancy unconfin'd,
And thoughts that were immortal as his mind.

OTWAY.

Shakſpeare, whoſe genius to itſelf a law,
Could men in every height of nature draw.

ROWE.

In ſuch an age immortal Shakſpeare wrote,
By no quaint rules nor hamp'ring criticks taught;
With rough majeſtick force he mov'd the heart,
And ſtrength and nature made amends for art.

Ibid.

To claim attention and the heart invade,
Shakſpeare but *wrote* the play th' Almighty *made*.
Our neighbour's ſtage-art too bare-fac'd betrays,
'Tis great Corneille at every ſcene we praiſe;
On Nature's ſurer aid Britannia calls,
Nor think of Shakſpeare till the curtain falls;
Then with a ſigh returns our audience home,
From Venice, Egypt, Perſia, Greece, or Rome.

YOUNG.

Shakſpeare, the genius of our iſle, whoſe mind
(The univerſal mirror of mankind)

Expreſs'd all images, enrich'd the ſtage,
But ſometimes ſtoop'd to pleaſe a barb'rous age.
When his immortal bays began to grow,
Rude was the language, and the humour low.
He, like the god of day, was always bright;
But rolling in its courſe, his orb of light
Was ſullied and obſcur'd, though ſoaring high,
With ſpots contracted from the nether ſky.
But whither is the advent'rous muſe betray'd?
Forgive her raſhneſs, venerable ſhade!
May ſpring with purple flowers perfume thy urn,
And Avon with his greens thy grave adorn!
Be all thy faults, whatever faults there be,
Imputed to the times, and not to thee!
Some ſcions ſhot from this immortal root,
Their tops much lower, and leſs fair the fruit.
Jonſon the tribute of my verſe might claim,
Had he not ſtrove to bleniſh Shakſpeare's name.
But like the radiant twins that gild the ſphere,
Fletcher and Beaumont next in pomp appear.

FENTON.

———For lofty ſenſe,
Creative fancy, and inſpection keen
Through the deep windings of the human heart,
Is not wild Shakſpeare thine and nature's boaſt?

THOMSON.

Pride of his own, and wonder of this age,
Who firſt created, and yet rules the ſtage,
Bold to deſign, all-powerful to expreſs,
Shakſpeare each paſſion drew in every dreſs:
Great above rule, and imitating none;
Rich without borrowing, Nature was his own.

MALLET.

Shakſpeare (whom you and every playhouſe bill
Style the divine, the matchleſs, what you will,)
For gain, not glory, wing'd his roving flight,
And grew immortal in his own deſpight.

POPE.

An Inſcription for a Monument of SHAKSPEARE.

O youths and virgins: O declining eld:
O pale misfortune's ſlaves: O ye who dwell
Unknown with humble quiet; ye who wait
In courts, or fill the golden ſeat of kings:
O ſons of ſport and pleaſure: O thou wretch
That weep'ſt for jealous love, or the ſore wounds
Of conſcious guilt, or death's rapacious hand,
Which left thee void of hope: O ye who roam
In exile; ye who through the embattled field
Seek bright renown; or who for nobler palms
Contend, the leaders of a publick cauſe;
Approach: behold this marble. Know ye not
The features? Hath not oft his faithful tongue
Told you the faſhion of your own eſtate,
The ſecrets of your boſom? Here then, round
His monument with reverence while ye ſtand,
Say to each other: "This was Shakſpeare's form;
"Who walk'd in every path of human life,
"Felt every paſſion; and to all mankind
"Doth now, will ever, that experience yield
"Which his own genius only could acquire."

AKENSIDE.

——————— when lightning fires
The arch of heaven, and thunders rock the ground,
When furious whirlwinds rend the howling air,
And ocean, groaning from his loweſt bed,
Heaves his tempeſtuous billows to the ſky;
Amid the mighty uproar, while below
The nations tremble, Shakſpeare looks abroad
From ſome high cliff ſuperior, and enjoys
The elemental war.

Ibid.

From the Remonſtrance of SHAKSPEARE,

Suppoſed to have been ſpoken at the Theatre-Royal, when the French Comedians were acting by ſubſcription.

What though the footſteps of my devious muſe
The meaſur'd walks of Grecian art refuſe?
Or though the frankneſs of my hardy ſtyle
Mock the nice touches of the critick's file?
Yet what my age and climate held to view
Impartial I ſurvey'd, and fearleſs drew.
And ſay, ye ſkilful in the human heart,
Who know to prize a poet's nobleſt part,
What age, what clime, could e'er an ampler field
For lofty thought, for daring fancy yield?
I ſaw this England break the ſhameful bands
Forg'd for the ſouls of men by ſacred hands;
I ſaw each groaning realm her aid implore;
Her ſons the heroes of each warlike ſhore;
Her naval ſtandard, (the dire Spaniard's bane,)
Obey'd through all the circuit of the main.

Then too great commerce, for a late-found world,
Around your coaſt her eager ſails unfurl'd:
New hopes new paſſions thence the boſom fir'd;
New plans, new arts, the genius thence inſpir'd;
Thence every ſcene which private fortune knows,
In ſtronger life, with bolder ſpirit, roſe.

Diſgrac'd I this full proſpect which I drew?
My colours languid, or my ſtrokes untrue?
Have not your ſages, warriors, ſwains, and kings,
Confeſs'd the living draught of men and things?
What other bard in any clime appears,
Alike the maſter of your ſmiles and tears?
Yet have I deign'd your audience to entice
With wretched bribes to luxury and vice?
Or have my various ſcenes a purpoſe known,
Which freedom, virtue, glory, might not own?

Ibid.

When learning's triumph o'er her barb'rous foes
Firſt rear'd the ſtage, immortal Shakſpeare roſe;
Each change of many-colour'd life he drew,
Exhauſted worlds, and then imagin'd new:
Exiſtence ſaw him ſpurn her bounded reign,
And panting Time toil'd after him in vain:
His pow'rful ſtrokes preſiding truth impreſs'd,
And unreſiſted paſſion ſtorm'd the breaſt.

JOHNSON.

Upon SHAKSPEARE's Monument at Stratford-upon-Avon.

Great Homer's birth ſeven rival cities claim;
Too mighty ſuch monopoly of fame

Yet not to birth alone did Homer owe
His wond'rous worth; what Egypt could beſtow,
With all the ſchools of Greece and Aſia join'd,
Enlarg'd the immenſe expanſion of his mind:
Nor yet unrival'd the Mæonian ſtrain;
The Britiſh Eagle[1] and the Mantuan Swan
Tow'r equal heights. But, happier Stratford, thou
With inconteſted laurels deck thy brow;
Thy bard was thine *unſchool'd*, and from thee brought
More than all Egypt, Greece, or Aſia taught;
Not Homer's ſelf ſuch matchleſs laurels won;
The Greek has rivals, but thy Shakſpeare none.

T. Seward.

From Epiſtle to Sir Thomas Hanmer on his Edition of Shakspeare's Works.

Hard was the lot thoſe injur'd ſtrains endur'd,
Unown'd by ſcience, and by years obſcur'd:
Fair fancy wept; and echoing ſighs confeſs'd
A fixt deſpair in every tuneful breaſt.
Not with more grief the afflicted ſwains appear,
When wintry winds deform the plenteous year;
When lingering froſts the ruin'd ſeats invade
Where Peace reſorted, and the Graces play'd.
Each riſing art by juſt gradation moves,
Toil builds on toil, and age on age improves:
The muſe alone unequal dealt her rage,
And deck'd with nobleſt pomp her earlieſt ſtage.
Preſerv'd through time, the ſpeaking ſcenes impart
Each changeful wish of Phædra's tortur'd heart;

[1] Milton.

Or paint the curſe, that mark'd the Theban's[2] reign,
A bed inceſtuous, and a father ſlain.
With kind concern our pitying eyes o'erflow,
Trace the ſad tale, and own another's woe.

To Rome remov'd, with wit ſecure to pleaſe,
The comick ſiſters kept their native eaſe.
With jealous fear declining Greece beheld
Her own Menander's art almoſt excell'd:
But every Muſe eſſay'd to raiſe in vain
Some labour'd rival of her tragick ſtrain;
Illyſſus' laurels, though transferr'd with toil,
Droop'd their fair leaves, nor knew th' unfriendly ſoil.

As arts expir'd, reſiſtleſs Dullneſs roſe;
Goths, prieſts, or Vandals,--all were learning's foes.
Till Julius[3] firſt recall'd each exil'd maid,
And Coſmo own'd them in the Etrurian ſhade:
Then deeply ſkill'd in love's engaging theme,
The ſoft Provencial paſs'd to Arno's ſtream:
With graceful eaſe the wanton lyre he ſtrung;
Sweet flow'd the lays,—but love was all he ſung.
The gay deſcription could not fail to move;
For, led by nature, all are friends to love.

But heaven, ſtill various in its works, decreed
The perfect boaſt of time ſhould laſt ſucceed.
The beauteous union muſt appear at length,
Of Tuſcan fancy, and Athenian ſtrength:
One greater Muſe Eliza's reign adorn,
And even a Shakſpeare to her fame be born.

Yet ah! ſo bright her morning's opening ray,
In vain our Britain hop'd an equal day.

[2] The Oedipus of Sophocles.

[3] Julius II. the immediate predeceſſor of Leo X.

No ſecond growth the weſtern iſle could bear,
At once exhauſted with too rich a year.
Too nicely Jonſon knew the critick's part;
Nature in him was almoſt loſt in art.
Of ſofter mold the gentle Fletcher came,
The next in order, as the next in name.
With pleas'd attention 'midſt his ſcenes we find
Each glowing thought, that warms the female mind;
Each melting ſigh, and every tender tear,
The lover's wiſhes, and the virgin's fear.
His every ſtrain the Smiles and Graces own;[4]
But ſtronger Shakſpeare felt for man alone:
Drawn by his pen, our ruder paſſions ſtand
Th' unrivall'd picture of his early hand.

With gradual ſteps,[5] and ſlow, exacter France
Saw Art's fair empire o'er her ſhores advance:
By length of toil a bright perfection knew,
Correctly bold, and juſt in all ſhe drew:
Till late Corneille, with Lucan's[6] ſpirit fir'd,
Breath'd the free ſtrain, as Rome and He inſpir'd;
And claſſick judgment gain'd to ſweet Racine
The temperate ſtrength of Maro's chaſter line.

But wilder far the Britiſh laurel ſpread,
And wreaths leſs artful crown our poet's head.
Yet He alone to every ſcene could give
The hiſtorian's truth, and bid the manners live.

[4] Their characters are thus diſtinguiſhed by Mr. Dryden.

[5] About the time of Shakſpeare, the poet Hardy was in great repute in France. He wrote, according to Fontenelle, ſix hundred plays. The French poets after him applied themſelves in general to the correct improvement of the ſtage, which was almoſt totally diſregarded by thoſe of our own country, Jonſon excepted.

[6] The favourite author of the elder Corneille.

Wak'd at his call I view, with glad ſurprize,
Majeſtick forms of mighty monarchs riſe.
There Henry's trumpets ſpread their loud alarms,
And laurell'd Conqueſt waits her hero's arms.
Here gentler Edward claims a pitying ſigh,
Scarce born to honours, and ſo ſoon to die!
Yet ſhall thy throne, unhappy infant, bring
No beam of comfort to the guilty king:
The time ſhall come,[7] when Gloſter's heart ſhall bleed
In life's laſt hours, with horror of the deed:
When dreary viſions ſhall at laſt preſent
Thy vengeful image in the midnight tent:
Thy hand unſeen the ſecret death ſhall bear,
Blunt the weak ſword, and break the oppreſſive ſpear.

Where'er we turn, by fancy charm'd, we find
Some ſweet illuſion of the cheated mind.
Oft, wild of wing, ſhe calls the ſoul to rove
With humbler nature, in the rural grove;
Where ſwains contented own the quiet ſcene,
And twilight fairies tread the circled green:
Dreſs'd by her hand, the woods and vallies ſmile,
And Spring diffuſive decks the inchanted iſle.

O more than all in powerful genius bleſt,
Come, take thine empire o'er the willing breaſt!
Whate'er the wounds this youthful heart ſhall feel,
Thy ſongs ſupport me, and thy morals heal.
There every thought the poet's warmth may raiſe,
There native muſick dwells in all the lays.
O might ſome verſe with happieſt ſkill perſuade
Expreſſive Picture to adopt thine aid!

[7] Turno tempus erit, magno cùm optaverit emptum
Intactum Pallanta, &c.

What wondrous draughts might riſe from every
page!
What other Raphaels charm a diſtant age!

Methinks even now I view ſome free deſign,
Where breathing Nature lives in every line:
Chaſte and ſubdued the modeſt lights decay,
Steal into ſhades, and mildly melt away.
—And ſee, where Antony,[8] in tears approv'd,
Guards the pale relicts of the chief he lov'd:
O'er the cold corſe the warrior ſeems to bend,
Deep ſunk in grief, and mourns his murder'd friend!
Still as they preſs, he calls on all around,
Lifts the torn robe, and points the bleeding wound.

But who is he,[9] whoſe brows exalted bear
A wrath impatient, and a fiercer air?
Awake to all that injur'd worth can feel,
On his own Rome he turns the avenging ſteel!
Yet ſhall not war's inſatiate fury fall
(So heaven ordains it) on the deſtin'd wall.
See the fond mother, 'midſt the plaintive train,
Hung on his knees, and proſtrate on the plain!
Touch'd to the ſoul, in vain he ſtrives to hide
The ſon's affection in the Roman's pride:
O'er all the man conflicting paſſions riſe,
Rage graſps the ſword, while Pity melts the eyes.

COLLINS.

Methinks I ſee with Fancy's magick eye,
The ſhade of Shakſpeare, in yon azure ſky.
On yon high cloud behold the bard advance,
Piercing all Nature with a ſingle glance:

[8] See the tragedy of Julius Cæſar.

[9] Coriolanus. See Mr. Spence's dialogue on the *Odyſſey*

In various attitudes around him ſtand
The Paſſions, waiting for his dread command.
Firſt kneeling Love before his feet appears,
And muſically ſighing melts in tears.
Near him ſell Jealouſy with fury burns,
And into ſtorms the amorous breathings turns;
Then Hope with heavenward look, and Joy draws near,
While palſied Terror trembles in the rear.
Such Shakſpeare's train of horror, and delight, &c.

SMART.

What are the lays of artful Addiſon,
Coldly correct, to Shakſpeare's warblings wild?
Whom on the winding Avon's willow'd banks
Fair Fancy found, and bore the ſmiling babe
To a cloſe cavern: (ſtill the ſhepherds ſhew
The ſacred place, whence with religious awe
They hear, returning from the field at eve,
Strange whiſp'ring of ſweet muſick through the air:)
Here, as with honey gather'd from the rock,
She fed the little prattler, and with ſongs
Oft ſooth'd his wond'ring ears; with deep delight
On her ſoft lap he ſat, and caught the ſounds.

JOSEPH WARTON.

Here, boldly mark'd with every living hue,
Nature's unbounded portrait Shakſpeare drew:
But chief, the dreadful group of human woes
The daring artiſt's tragick pencil choſe;
Explor'd the pangs that rend the royal breaſt,
Thoſe wounds that lurk beneath the tiſſued veſt.

THOMAS WARTON.

Monody, written near Stratford-upon-Avon.

Avon, thy rural views, thy paſtures wild,
The willows that o'erhang thy twilight edge,
Their boughs entangling with the embattled ſedge;
Thy brink with watery foliage quaintly fring'd,
Thy ſurface with reflected verdure ting'd;
Sooth me with many a penſive pleaſure mild.
But while I muſe, that here the Bard Divine
Whoſe ſacred duſt yon high-arch'd iſles incloſe,
Where the tall windows riſe in ſtately rows,
Above th' embowering ſhade,
Here firſt, at Fancy's fairy-circled ſhrine,
Of daiſies pied his infant offering made;
Here playful yet, in ſtripling years unripe,
Fram'd of thy reeds a ſhrill and artleſs pipe:
Sudden thy beauties, Avon, all are fled,
As at the waving of ſome magick wand;
An holy trance my charmed ſpirit wings,
And aweful ſhapes of leaders and of kings,
People the buſy mead,
Like ſpectres ſwarming to the wiſard's hall;
And ſlowly pace, and point with trembling hand
The wounds ill-cover'd by the purple pall.
Before me Pity ſeems to ſtand,
A weeping mourner, ſmote with anguiſh ſore,
To ſee Misfortune rend in frantick mood
His robe, with regal woes embroider'd o'er.
Pale Terror leads the viſionary band,
And ſternly ſhakes his ſceptre, dropping blood.

Ibid.

Far from the ſun and ſummer gale,
In thy green lap was Nature's darling laid,
What time, where lucid Avon ſtray'd,
To him the mighty mother did unveil
Her awful face: The dauntleſs child
Stretch'd forth his little arms, and ſmil'd.
This pencil take (ſhe ſaid) whoſe colours clear
Richly paint the vernal year:
Thine too theſe golden keys, immortal boy!
This can unlock the gates of joy;
Of horror that, and thrilling fears,
Or ope the ſacred ſource of ſympathetick tears.'

GRAY.

Next Shakſpeare ſat, irregularly great,
And in his hand a magick rod did hold,
Which viſionary beings did create,
And turn the ſouleſt droſs to pureſt gold:

[1] An ingenious perſon, who ſent Mr. Gray his remarks anonymouſly on this and the following Ode ſoon after they were publiſhed, gives this ſtanza and the following a very juſt and well-expreſſed eulogy: "A poet is perhaps never more conciliating than when he praiſes favourite predeceſſors in his art. Milton is not more the pride than Shakſpeare the love of their country: It is therefore equally judicious to diffuſe a tenderneſs and a grace through the praiſe of Shakſpeare, as to extol in a ſtrain more elevated and ſonorous the boundleſs ſoarings of Milton's imagination." The critick has here well noted the beauty of contraſt which reſults from the two deſcriptions; yet it is further to be obſerved, to the honour of our poet's judgment, that the tenderneſs and grace in the former, does not prevent it from ſtrongly characteriſing the three capital perfections of Shakſpeare's genius; and when he deſcribes his power of exciting terror (a ſpecies of the ſublime) he ceaſes to be diffuſe, and becomes, as he ought to be, conciſe and energetical. MASON.

Whatever ſpirits rove in earth or air,
Or bad or good, obey his dread command;
To his beheſts theſe willingly repair,
Thoſe aw'd by terrors of his magick wand,
The which not all their powers united might withſtand.

LLOYD.

Oh, where's the bard, who at one view
Could look the whole creation through,
Who travers'd all the human heart,
Without recourſe to Grecian art?
He ſcorn'd the rules of imitation,
Of altering, pilfering, and tranſlation,
Nor painted horror, grief, or rage,
From models of a former age;
The bright original he took,
And tore the leaf from nature's book.
'Tis Shakſpeare.—

Ibid.

In the firſt ſeat, in robe of various dies
A noble wildneſs flaſhing from his eyes,
Sat Shakſpeare.—In one hand a wand he bore,
For mighty wonders fam'd in days of yore;
The other held a globe, which to his will
Obedient turn'd, and own'd a maſter's ſkill:
Things of the nobleſt kind his genius drew,
And look'd through nature at a ſingle view:

Thus Pope, in his *Temple of Fame*, ſpeaking of Ariſtotle:
"His piercing eyes, erect, appear to view
"Superior worlds, and *look all Nature through.*"
STEEVENS.

A looſe he gave to his unbounded ſoul,
And taught new lands to riſe, new ſeas to roll;
Call'd into being ſcenes unknown before,
And, paſſing nature's bounds, was ſomething more.
CHURCHILL.

Yes! jealous wits may ſtill for empire ſtrive
Still keep the flames of critick rage alive:
Our SHAKSPEARE yet ſhall all his rights maintain,
And crown the triumphs of ELIZA's reign.
Above controul, above each claſſick rule,
His tutreſs nature, and the world his ſchool.
On daring pinions borne, to him was given
Th' aerial range of FANCY's brighteſt Heaven,
To bid rapt thought o'er nobleſt heights aſpire,
And wake each paſſion with a MUSE OF FIRE.—
Revere his genius—To the dead be juſt,
And ſpare the laurels, that o'erſhade the duſt.—
Low ſleeps the bard, *in cold obſtruction laid*,
Nor aſks the chaplet from a rival's head.
O'er the drear vault, Ambition's utmoſt bound,
Unheard ſhall Fame her airy trumpet ſound!
Unheard alike, nor grief, nor tranſport raiſe,
Thy blaſt of cenſure, or thy note of praiſe!
As RAPHAEL's own creation grac'd his hearſe,[1]
And ſham'd the pomp of oſtentatious verſe,
Shall SHAKSPEARE's honours by himſelf be paid,
And Nature periſh ere his pictures fade.
KEATE to VOLTAIRE, 1768.

[1] The TRANSFIGURATION, that well known picture of RAPHAEL, was carried before his body to the grave, doing more real honour to his memory than either his epitaph in the Pantheon, the famous diſtich of CARDINAL BEMBO, or all the other adulatory verſes written on the ſame occaſion. KEATE.

AN

ATTEMPT

TO ASCERTAIN

THE ORDER

IN WHICH

THE PLAYS OF SHAKSPEARE

WERE WRITTEN.[4]

———— Primuſque per avia campi
Uſque procul, (necdum tetas lux moverat umbras,)
Neſcio quid viſu dubium, incertumque moveri,
Corporaque ire videt. STATIUS.

Trattando l'ombre come coſa ſalda. DANTE.

EVERY circumſtance that relates to thoſe perſons whoſe writings we admire awakens and intereſts our curioſity. The time and place of their birth, their education and gradual attainments, the dates of their productions and the reception they ſeverally met with, their habits of life, their private friendſhips, and even their external form, are all points, which, how little ſoever they may have been adverted to by their contemporaries, ſtrongly engage the attention of poſterity. Not ſatisfied with receiving the aggregated wiſdom of ages as a free gift, we viſit the manſions where our

[4] The firſt edition of this Eſſay was publiſhed in January, 1778.

inſtructors are ſaid to have reſided, we contemplate with pleaſure the trees under whoſe ſhade they once repoſed, and wiſh to ſee and to converſe with thoſe ſages, whoſe labours have added ſtrength to virtue, and efficacy to truth.

Shakſpeare, above all writers, ſince the days of Homer, has excited this curioſity in the higheſt degree; as perhaps no poet of any nation was ever more idolized by his countrymen. An ardent deſire to underſtand and explain his works, is, to the honour of the preſent age, ſo much increaſed within the laſt forty years, that more has been done towards their elucidation, during that period,[5] than in a century before. All the ancient copies of his plays, hitherto diſcovered, have been collated with the moſt ſcrupulous accuracy. The meaneſt books have been carefully examined, only becauſe they were of the age in which he lived, and might happily throw a light on ſome forgotten cuſtom, or obſolete phraſeology: and, this object being ſtill kept in view, the toil of wading through *all ſuch reading as was never read* has been cheerfully endured, becauſe no labour was thought too great, that might enable us to add one new laurel to the father of our drama. Almoſt every circumſtance that tradition or hiſtory has preſerved relative to him or his works, has been inveſtigated, and laid before the publick; and the avidity with which all communications of this kind have been received, ſufficiently proves that the time expended in the purſuit has not been wholly miſemployed.

However, after the moſt diligent inquiries, very

[5] Within the period here mentioned, the commentaries of Warburton, Edwards, Heath, Johnſon, Tyrwhitt, Farmer, and Steevens, have been publiſhed.

few particulars have been recovered, reſpecting his private life or literary hiſtory: and while it has been the endeavour of all his editors and commentators to illuſtrate his obſcurities, and to regulate and correct his text, no attempt has been made to trace the progreſs and order of his plays. Yet ſurely it is no incurious ſpeculation to mark the gradations[6] by which he roſe from mediocrity to

[6] It is not pretended that a regular ſcale of gradual improvement is here preſented to the publick; or that, if even Shakſpeare himſelf had left us a chronological liſt of his dramas, it would exhibit ſuch a ſcale. All that is meant is, that, as his knowledge increaſed, and as he became more converſant with the ſtage and with life, his performances *in general* were written more happily and with greater art; or (to uſe the words of Dr. Johnſon) "that however favoured by nature, he could only impart what he had learned, and as he muſt increaſe his ideas, like other mortals, by gradual acquiſition, he, like them, grew wiſer, as he grew older, could diſplay life better as he knew it more, and inſtruct with more efficacy, as he was himſelf more amply inſtructed." Of this opinion alſo was Mr. Pope. "It muſt be obſerved, (ſays he,) that when his performances had merited the protection of his prince, and when the encouragement of the court had ſucceeded to that of the town, the works of his riper years are manifeſtly raiſed above thoſe of the former.—And I make no doubt that this obſervation would be found true in every inſtance, were but editions extant from which we might learn the exact time when every piece was compoſed, and whether writ for the town or the court."—From the following lines it appears, that Dryden alſo thought that our author's moſt imperfect plays were his earlieſt dramatick compoſitions:

"Your Ben and Fletcher in their firſt young flight,
"Did no *Volpone*, no *Arbaces* write;
"But hopp'd about, and ſhort excurſions made
"From bough to bough, as if they were afraid;
"And each were guilty of ſome *Slighted Maid*.
"Shakſpeare's own muſe his *Pericles* firſt bore;
"*The Prince of Tyre* was elder than *the Moor*:
"'Tis miracle to ſee a firſt good play;
"All hawthorn [illegible] do not bloom on Chriſtmas-day.
"A ſlender poſ[illegible] ſh have time to grow,
"And ſpread [illegible] with, as his brothers do:

the ſummit of excellence; from artleſs and ſometimes unintereſting dialogues, to thoſe unparalleled compoſitions, which have rendered him the delight and wonder of ſucceſſive ages.

The materials for aſcertaining the order in which his plays were written, are indeed ſo few, that, it is to be feared, nothing very deciſive can be produced on this ſubject. In the following attempt to trace the progreſs of his dramatick art, probability alone is pretended to. The ſilence and inaccuracy of thoſe perſons, who, after his death, had the reviſal of his papers, will perhaps for ever prevent our attaining to any thing like proof on this head. Little then remains, but to collect into one view, from his ſeveral dramas, and from the ancient tracts in which they are mentioned, or alluded to, all the circumſtances that can throw any light on this new and curious inquiry. From thoſe circumſtances, and from the entries in the books of

" Who ſtill looks lean, ſure with ſome p— is curſt,
" But no man can be *Falſtaff* fat at firſt."
Prologue to the tragedy of *Circe*.

The plays which Shakſpeare produced before the year 1600, are known, and are ſeventeen or eighteen in number. The reſt of his dramas, we may conclude, were compoſed between that year and the time of his retiring to the country. It is incumbent on thoſe, who differ in opinion from the great authorities abovementioned,—who think with Rowe that "*we are not to look for his beginnings in his leaſt perfect works*," it is incumbent, I ſay, on thoſe perſons, to enumerate in the former claſs, that is, among the plays produced before 1600, compoſitions of equal merit with *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Macbeth*, *The Tempeſt*, and *Twelfth-Night*, which we have reaſon to believe were all written in the latter period; and among his late performances, that is among the plays which are ſuppoſed to have appeared after the year 1600, to point out pieces, as haſty and indigeſted, as *Love's Labour's Loſt*, *The Comedy of Errors*, and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, which, we know, were among his earlieſt works.

the Stationers' Company, extracted and publiſhed by Mr. Steevens, (to whom every admirer of Shakſpeare has the higheſt obligations,) it is probable that our author's plays were written nearly in the following ſucceſſion: which, though it cannot at this day be aſcertained to be their true order, may yet be conſidered as approaching nearer to it, than any which has been obſerved in the various editions of his works.

Of the twenty-one plays which were not printed in our author's life-time,[7] the *majority* were, I believe, late compoſitions.[8] The following arrange-

[7] They are *King Henry VI.* P. I. The Second and Third Parts of *King Henry VI.* (as he wrote them) *The Comedy of Errors, The Taming of the Shrew, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, King John, All's well that ends well, As you like it, King Henry VIII. Meaſure for Meaſure, The Winter's Tale, Cymbeline, Macbeth, Julius Cæſar, Antony and Cleopatra, Timon of Athens, Coriolanus, Othello, The Tempeſt,* and *Twelfth-Night.* None of theſe, except *Othello,* were printed in quarto, but appeared firſt in the folio edition publiſhed by Heminge and Condell, in 1623. Of theſe plays, ſeven, viz. *The Firſt Part of King Henry VI.* (allowing that play to be Shakſpeare's,) *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI. King John, The Comedy of Errors, The Taming of the Shrew,* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona,* were certainly early compoſitions, and are an exception to the general truth of this obſervation. One other, viz. *All's well that ends well,* though ſuppoſed to have been an early production, was, it muſt be acknowledged, not publiſhed in Shakſpeare's life-time; but for the date of this play we rely only on conjecture.

[8] This ſuppoſition is ſtrongly confirmed by Meres's liſt of our author's plays, in 1598. From that liſt, and from other circumſtances, we learn, that of the fourteen plays which were printed in Shakſpeare's life-time, thirteen were written before the end of the year 1600.—The fourteen plays publiſhed in our author's life-time, are—*A Midſummer-Night's Dream, Love's Labour's Loſt, Romeo and Juliet, Hamlet, King Richard II. King Richard III. The Firſt Part of King Henry IV. The Second Part of King Henry IV. The Merchant of Venice, King Henry V.*

ment is in ſome meaſure formed on this notion. Two reaſons may be aſſigned, why Shakſpeare's late performances were not publiſhed till after his death. 1. If we ſuppoſe him to have written for the ſtage during a period of twenty years, thoſe pieces which were produced in the latter part of that period, were leſs likely to paſs through the preſs in his life-time, as the curioſity of the publick had not been ſo long engaged by them, as by his early compoſitions. 2. From the time that Shakſpeare had the ſuperintendance of a play-houſe, that is, from the year 1603,[9] when he and ſeveral others obtained a licence from King James to exhibit comedies, tragedies, hiſtories, &c. at the Globe Theatre, and elſewhere, it became ſtrongly his intereſt to preſerve thoſe pieces unpubliſhed, which were compoſed between that year and the time of his retiring to the country; manuſcript plays being then the great ſupport of every theatre. Nor were the plays which he wrote after he became a manager, ſo likely to get abroad, being confined to his own theatre, as his former productions, which perhaps had been acted on

Much Ado about Nothing, *The Merry Wives of Windſor*, *Troilus and Creſſida*, and *King Lear*.

[9] None of the plays which in the enſuing liſt are ſuppoſed to have been written ſubſequently to this year, were printed till after the author's death, except *King Lear*, the publication of which was probably haſtened by that of the old play with the ſame title, in 1605.—The copy of *Troilus and Creſſida*, which ſeems to have been compoſed the year before King James granted a licence to the company at the Globe Theatre, appears to have been obtained by ſome uncommon artifice. "Thank fortune (ſays the editor) for the *ſcape* it hath made amongſt you; ſince, by the grand poſſeſſors' wills, I believe, you ſhould have pray'd for them [r. *it*] rather than been pray'd."—By *the grand poſſeſſors*, Shakſpeare and the other managers of the Globe Theatre, were certainly intended.

different ſtages, and of conſequence afforded the players at the ſeveral houſes where they were exhibited, an eaſy opportunity of making out copies from the ſeparate parts tranſcribed for their uſe, and of ſelling ſuch copies to printers; by which means there is reaſon to believe that ſome of them were ſubmitted to the preſs, without the conſent of the author.

The following is the order in which I ſuppoſe the plays of Shakſpeare to have been written:

1. First Part of King Henry VI. 1589.
2. Second Part of King Henry VI. 1591.
3. Third Part of King Henry VI. 1591.
4. A Midsummer-Night's Dream, 1592.
5. Comedy of Errors, - - 1593.
6. Taming of the Shrew, - 1594.
7. Love's Labour's Loſt, - - 1594.
8. Two Gentlemen of Verona, - 1595.
9. Romeo and Juliet, - - 1595.
10. Hamlet, - - - - 1596.
11. King John, - - - - 1596.
12. King Richard II. - - 1597.
13. King Richard III. - - 1597.
14. First Part of King Henry IV. 1597.
15. Second Part of King Henry IV. 1598.
16. The Merchant of Venice, - 1598.
17. All's Well that Ends Well, 1598.
18. King Henry V. - - - 1599.
19. Much Ado about Nothing, - 1600.
20. As You Like It, - - 1600.
21. Merry Wives of Windsor, - 1601.
22. King Henry VIII. - - 1601.
23. Troilus and Creſſida, - 1602.
24. Meaſure for Meaſure, - 1603.
25. The Winter's Tale, - - 1604.

26. KING LEAR, - - - 1605.
27. CYMBELINE, - - - 1605.
28. MACBETH, - - - 1606.
29. JULIUS CÆSAR, - - 1607.
30. ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, - 1608.
31. TIMON OF ATHENS, - - 1609.
32. CORIOLANUS, - - - 1610.
33. OTHELLO, - - - - 1611.
34. THE TEMPEST, - - - 1612.
35. TWELFTH NIGHT, - - 1614.

1. THE FIRST PART OF KING HENRY VI. 1589.

In what year our author began to write for the ſtage, or which was his firſt performance, has not been hitherto aſcertained. And indeed we have ſo few lights to direct our inquiries, that any ſpeculation on this ſubject may appear an idle expence of time. But the method which has been already marked out, requires that ſuch facts ſhould be mentioned, as may ſerve in any manner to elucidate theſe points.

Shakſpeare was born on the 23d of April, 1564, and was probably married in, or before, September, 1582, his eldeſt daughter, Suſanna, having been baptized on the 26th of May, 1583. At what time he left Warwickſhire, or was firſt employed in the playhouſe, tradition does not inform us. However, as his ſon Hamnet and his daughter Judith were baptized at Stratford, Feb. 2, 1584-5, we may preſume that he had not left the country at that time.

He could not have wanted an eaſy introduction

to the theatre; for Thomas Greene,[1] a celebrated comedian was his townſman, perhaps his relation, and Michael Drayton was likewiſe born in Warwickſhire; the latter was nearly of his own age, and both were in ſome degree of reputation ſoon after the year 1590. If I were to indulge a conjecture, I ſhould name the year 1591, as the era when our author commenced a writer for the ſtage; at which time he was ſomewhat more than twenty-ſeven years old. The reaſons that induce me to fix on that period are theſe. In Webbe's *Diſcourſe of Engliſh Poetry*, publiſhed in 1586, we meet with the names of moſt of the celebrated poets of that

[1] "There was not (ſays Heywood, in his preface to Greene's *Tu Quoque*, a comedy,) an actor of his nature in his time of better ability in the performance of what he undertook, more applauded by the audience, of greater grace at the court, or of more general love in the city." The birth-place of Thomas Greene is aſcertained by the following lines, which he ſpeaks in one of the old comedies, in the character of a clown:

"I prattled poeſie in my nurſe's arms,
"And, born where late our ſwan of Avon ſung,
"In Avon's ſtreams we both of us have lav'd,
"And both came out together." *

Chetwood, in his *Britiſh Theatre*, quotes this paſſage from the comedy of the *Two Maids of Moreclack*; but no ſuch paſſage is there to be found. He deſerves but little credit, having certainly forged many of his dates; however, he probably met with theſe lines in ſome ancient play, though he forgot the name of the piece from which he tranſcribed them. Greene was a writer as well as an actor. There are ſome verſes of his prefixed to a collection of Drayton's poems, publiſhed in the year 1613. He was perhaps a kinſman of Shakſpeare's. In the regiſter of the pariſh of Stratford, Thomas Greene, alias Shakſpere, is ſaid to have been buried there, March 6, 1589. He might have been the actor's father.

* The turn of theſe lines is apparently borrowed from a paſſage in Milton's *Lycidas*. See v. 23, *& ſeq.* The whole is a forgery by Chetwood. STEEVENS.

time; particularly thoſe of George Whetſtone[2] and Anthony Munday,[3] who were *dramatick* writers; but we find no trace of our author, or of any of his works. Three years afterwards, Puttenham printed his *Art of Engliſh Poeſy*; and in that work alſo we look in vain for the name of Shakſpeare.[4]

[2] The author of *Promos and Caſſandra*, a play which furniſhed Shakſpeare with the fable of *Meaſure for Meaſure*.

[3] This poet is mentioned by Meres, in his *Wit's Treaſury*, 1598, as an eminent comick writer, and the *beſt plotter* of his time. He ſeems to have been introduced under the name of Don Antonio Balladino, in a comedy that has been attributed to Ben Jonſon, called *The Caſe is Altered*, and from the following paſſages in that piece appears to have been city-poet; whoſe buſineſs it was to compoſe an annual panegyrick on the Lord Mayor, and to write verſes for the pageants: an office which has been diſcontinued ſince the death of Elkanah Settle in 1722:

"*Onion.* Shall I requeſt your name?

"*Ant.* My name is Antonio Balladino.

"*Oni.* Balladino! You are not pageant-poet to the city of Milan, ſir, are you?

"*Ant.* I ſupply the place, ſir, when a worſe cannot be had, ſir.—Did you ſee the laſt pageant I let forth?"

Afterwards Antonio, ſpeaking of the plays he had written, ſays:

"Let me have good ground,—no matter for the pen; *the plot* ſhall carry it.

"*Oni.* Indeed that's right; *you are in print, already for* THE BEST PLOTTER.

"*Ant.* Ay; I might as well have been put in for a dumb-ſhew too."

It is evident, that this poet is here intended to be ridiculed by Ben Jonſon: but he might, notwithſtanding, have been deſervedly eminent. That malignity which endeavoured to tear a wreath from the brow of Shakſpeare, would certainly not ſpare inferior writers.

[4] The thirty-firſt chapter of the firſt book of Puttenham's *Art of Engliſh Poeſy* is thus entitled: "Who in any age have bene the moſt commended writers in our Engliſh Poeſie, and the author's cenſure given upon them."

After having enumerated ſeveral authors who were then celebrated for various kinds of compoſition, he gives this ſuccinct

Sir John Harrington, in his *Apologie for Poetrie*, prefixed to the *Tranſlation of Arioſto*, (which was entered in the Stationers' books Feb. 26, 1590-1, in which year it was publiſhed,) takes occaſion to ſpeak of the theatre, and mentions ſome of the celebrated dramas of that time; but ſays not a word of Shakſpeare, or of his plays. If any of his dramatick compoſitions had then appeared, is it imaginable, that Harrington ſhould have mentioned the Cambridge *Pedantius*, and *The Play of the Cards*, which laſt, he tells us, was a *London* [i. e. an Engliſh] comedy, and have paſſed by, unnoticed, the new prodigy of the dramatick world?

In Spenſer's *Tears of the Muſes*, firſt printed in 1591, the following lines are found in Thalia's complaint on account of the decay of dramatick poetry:

"And he the man, whom nature's ſelf had made
"To mock her ſelfe, and truth to imitate,
"With kindly counter under mimick ſhade,
"Our pleaſant *Willy*, ah, is dead of late;
"With whom all joy and jolly merriment
"Is alſo deaded, and in dolour drent.

"Inſtead thereof ſcoffing ſcurrilitie
"And ſcornful follie with contempt is crept,
"Rolling in rymes of ſhameleſs ribaudrie,
"Without-regard or due decorum kept:
"Each idle wit at will preſumes to make
"And doth the learneds taſk upon him take.

account of thoſe who had written for the ſtage: "Of the latter ſort I thinke thus;—that for tragedie, the Lord Buckhurſt and Maiſter Edward Ferrys, for ſuch doings as I have ſene of theirs, do deſerve the hyeſt price; the Earl of Oxford and Maiſter Edwardes of her Majeſtie's Chappell, for comedie and enterlude."

" But that ſame gentle ſpirit, from whoſe pen
" Large ſtreames of honnie and ſweet nectar flow,
" Scorning the boldneſs of ſuch baſe-born men,
" Which dare their follies forth ſo raſhlie throwe,
" Doth rather chooſe to ſit in idle cell,
" Than ſo him ſelfe to mockerie to ſell."

Theſe lines were inſerted by Mr. Rowe in his firſt edition of *The Life of Shakſpeare*, and he then ſuppoſed that they related to our poet, and alluded to his having withdrawn himſelf for ſome time from the publick, and diſcontinued writing, from "a diſguſt he had taken to the then ill taſte of the town and the mean condition of the ſtage." But as Mr. Rowe ſuppreſſed this paſſage in his ſecond edition, it may be preſumed that he found reaſon to change his opinion. Dryden, however, he informs us, always thought that theſe verſes related to Shakſpeare: and indeed I do not recollect any dramatick poet of that time, to whom the character which they delineate is applicable, except our author. It is remarkable that the very ſame epithet, which Spenſer has employed, "*But that ſame gentle ſpirit*," &c. is likewiſe uſed by the players in their Preface, where they ſpeak of Shakſpeare:—"who as he was a happie imitator of nature, was a moſt *gentle* expreſſer of it." On the other hand ſome little difficulty ariſes from the line—"And doth the *learneds* taſk upon him take;" for our poet certainly had no title to that epithet. Spenſer, however, might have uſed it in an appropriated ſenſe, *learned in all the buſineſs of the ſtage*; and in this ſenſe the epithet is more applicable to Shakſpeare than to any poet that ever wrote.

It ſhould, however, be remembered, that the name *Willy*, for ſome reaſon or other which it is now in vain to ſeek, appears to have been applied

by the poets of Shakſpeare's age to perſons who were not chriſtened *William*. Thus, (as Dr. Farmer obſerves to me,) in "An Eglogue made long ſince on the death of Sir *Philip* Sydney," which is preſerved in Daviſon's *Poetical Rhapſody*, 1602, we find that celebrated writer lamented in almoſt every ſtanza by the name of *Willy*:

"*Willy* is dead,
"That wont to lead
"Our flocks and us, in mirth and ſhepheard's glee," &c.

"Of none but *Willie's* pipe they made account," &c.

Spenſer's *Willy*, however, could not have been Sir Philip Sydney, for he was dead ſome years before the *Tears of the Muſes* was publiſhed.

If theſe lines were intended to allude to our author, then he muſt have written ſome comedies in or before the year 1591; and the date which I have aſſigned to *A Midſummer-Night's Dream* is erroneous. I cannot expect to influence the deciſion of my reader on a ſubject on which I have not been able to form a decided opinion myſelf; and therefore ſhall content myſelf with merely ſtating the difficulties on each ſide. Suppoſing Shakſpeare to have written any piece in the year 1590, Sir John Harrington's ſilence concerning him in the following year appears inexplicable.

But whatever poet may have been in Spenſer's contemplation, it is certain that Shakſpeare had commenced a writer for the ſtage, and had even excited the jealouſy of his contemporaries, before September, 1592. This is now deciſively proved by a paſſage extracted by Mr. Tyrwhitt from Robert Greene's *Groatſworth of Witte bought with a Million of Repentance*, in which there is an evident

alluſion to our author's name, as well as to a line in *The Second Part of King Henry VI.*

This tract was publiſhed at the dying requeſt of Robert Greene, a very voluminous writer of that time. The concluſion of it, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has obſerved, is "an addreſs to his brother poets to diſſuade them from writing for the ſtage, on account of the ill treatment which they were uſed to receive from the players." It begins thus: "*To thoſe gentlemen his quondam acquaintance that ſpend their wits in making playes*, R. G. *wiſheth a better exerciſe, and wiſdome to prevent his extremities.*" His firſt addreſs is undoubtedly to Chriſtopher Marlowe, the moſt popular and admired dramatick poet of that age, previous to the appearance of Shakſpeare. "Wonder not," (ſays Greene,) "for with thee will I firſt begin, thou famous gracer of tragedians, that Greene, (who hath ſaid *with thee*, like the foole in his heart, there is no God,) ſhould now give glory unto his greatneſs; for penetrating is his power, his hand is heavy upon me; &c. Why ſhould thy excellent wit, his gift, be ſo blinded, that thou ſhould give no glory to the giver?—The brother [ſ. *breather*] of this diabolical atheiſm is dead, and in his life had never the felicitie he aimed at: but as he beganne in craft, lived in feare, and ended in deſpair. And wilt thou, my friend, be his diſciple?—Looke unto me, by him perſuaded to that libertie, and thou ſhalt find it an infernal bondage."

Greene's next addreſs appears to be made to Thomas Lodge. "With thee I joyne young Juvenall, that byting ſatiriſt, that lafily with mee together writ a comedie. Sweet boy, might I adviſe thee, be adviſed, and get not many enemies by bitter words: inveigh againſt vaine men, for thou

canſt do it, no man better, no man ſo well: thou haſt libertie to reprove all, and name none.—Stop ſhallow water ſtill running, it will rage; tread on a worme, and it will turn; then blame not ſchollers, who are vexed with ſharpe and bitter lines, if they reproove too much libertie of reproof."

George Peele, as Mr. Tyrwhitt has remarked, is next addreſſed. "And thou no leſſe deſerving than the other two, in ſome things rarer, in nothing inferior, driven, as my ſelfe, to extreame ſhifts, a little have I to ſay to thee: and were it not an idolatrous oath, I would ſweare by ſweet *S. George*, thou art unworthy better hap, ſith thou dependeſt on ſo meane a ſtay. Baſe-minded men all three of you, if by my miſery you be not warned: for unto none of you, like me, ſought thoſe burs to cleave; thoſe puppets, I meane, that ſpeake from our mouths; thoſe anticks garniſht in our colours. Is it not ſtrange that I, to whom they all have bin beholding, is it not like that you, to whom they all have been beholding, ſhall (were yee in that caſe that I am now) be both of them at once forſaken? *Yes, truſt them not, for there is an upſtart crow beautified with our feathers, that with his* tygres heart wrapt in a players hide, *ſuppoſes hee is as well able to bombaſte out a blanke verſe as the beſt of you; and being an abſolute* Johannes fac-totum, *is in his own conceit the only* Shake-ſcene *in a countrey.* O that I might intreat your rare wittes to be employed in more profitable courſes; and let theſe apes imitate your paſt excellence, and never more acquaynte them with your admired inventions."

This tract appears to have been written by Greene not long before his death; for near the concluſion he ſays, "Albeit *weakneſs will ſcarce ſuffer me to write*, yet to my fellow-ſcollers about this city will

I direct theſe few inſuing lines." He died, according to Dr. Gabriel Harvey's account, on the third of September, 1592.[5]

I have lately met with a very ſcarce pamphlet entitled *Kind Harts Dreame*, written by Henry Chettle, from the preface to which it appears that *he* was the editor of Green's *Groatſworth of Wit*, and that it was publiſhed between September and December, 1592.[6] Our poet, we find, was not without reaſon diſpleaſed at the preceding alluſion to him. As what Chettle ſays of him, correſponds with the character which all his contemporaries have given him, and the piece is extremely rare, I ſhall extract from the Addreſs *to the Gentlemen Readers*, what relates to the ſubject before us:

"About three months ſince died M. Robert Greene, leaving many papers in ſundry bookſellers' hands, among others his *Groatſworth of Wit*, in which a letter written to divers play-makers is offenſively by one or two of them taken; and becauſe on the dead they cannot be revenged, they wilfully forge in their conceites a living author: and after toſſing it to and fro, no remedy but it muſt light on me. How I have, all the time of my converſing in printing, hindered the bitter inveighing againſt ſchollers, it hath been very well known; and how in that I dealt, I can ſufficiently prove. With *neither* of them that take offence was I acquainted, and with one of them [Marlowe] I care not if I never be. The other, [Shakſpeare,]

Additions by Oldys to Winſtanley's *Lives of the Poets*, MS.

[6] Probably in October, for on the Stationers' books I find *The Repentaunce of Robert Greene, Maſter of Arte*, entered by John Danter, Oct. 6, 1592. The full title of Greene's pamphlet is, "Greene's *Groatſworth of Wit bought with a Million of Repentance*."

whom at that time I did not ſo much ſpare, as ſince I wiſh I had, for that as I have moderated the hate of living writers, and might have uſed my own diſcretion, (eſpecially in ſuch a caſe, the author being dead,) that I did not, I am as ſorry as if the original fault had been my fault; becauſe *my ſelfe have ſeen his demeanour no leſs civil than he excellent in the qualitie he profeſſes: Beſides, divers of worſhip have reported his uprightneſs of dealing, which argues his honeſtie, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art.* For the firſt, whoſe learning I reverence, and at the peruſing of Greene's booke, ſtrooke out what then in conſcience I thought he in ſome diſpleaſure writ; or had it been true, yet to publiſh it was intollerable; him I would wiſh to uſe me no worſe than I deſerve. I had onely in the copy this ſhare: it was ill written, as ſometime Greene's hand was none of the beſt; licenſed it muſt bee, ere it could be printed, which could never bee if it could not be read. To be brief, I writ it over, and as near as I could followed the copy; onely in that letter I put ſomething out, but in the whole book not a word in; for I proteſt it was all Greenes, not mine, nor Maſter Naſhes, as ſome unjuſtly have affirmed. Neither was he the writer of an Epiſtle to *The Second Part of Gerileon*; though by the workman's error T. N. were ſet to the end: that I confeſs to be mine, and repent it not.

"Thus, Gentlemen, having noted the private cauſes that made me nominate myſelf in print, being as well to purge Maſter Naſhe of what he did not, as to juſtifie what I did, and withall to confirm what M. Greene did, I beſeech you to accept the publick cauſe, which is both the deſire of your delight and common benefit; for though the toye

bee ſhadowed under the title of *Kind Harts Dreame*, it diſcovers the falſe hearts of divers that wake to commit miſchief," &c.

That I am right in ſuppoſing the two who took offence at Greene's pamphlet were Marlowe and Shakſpeare, whoſe names I have inſerted in a preceding paragraph in crotchets, appears from the paſſage itſelf already quoted; for there was nothing in Greene's exhortation to Lodge and Peele, the other two perſons addreſſed, by which either of them could poſſibly be offended. Dr. Farmer is of opinion that the ſecond perſon addreſſed by Greene is not Lodge, but *Naſhe*, who is often called *Juvenal* by the writers of that time; but that he was not meant, is deciſively proved by the extract from Chettle's pamphlet; for he never would have laboured to vindicate Naſhe from being the writer of the *Groatſworth of Wit*, if any part of it had been profeſſedly addreſſed to him.[7] Beſides, Lodge had written a play in conjunction with Greene, called *A Looking-Glaſs for London and England*, and was author of ſome ſatirical pieces; but we do not know that Naſhe and Greene had ever written in conjunction.

Henry Chettle was himſelf a dramatick writer, and appears to have become acquainted with Shakſpeare, or at leaſt ſeen him, between Sept. 1592, and the following December. Shakſpeare was at this time twenty-eight years old; and then we find from the teſtimony of this writer *his demeanour was no leſs civil than he excellent in the qualitie he profeſſed*. From the ſubſequent paragraph—"Divers

[7] Naſhe himſelf alſo takes ſome pains in an Epiſtle prefixed to *Pierce Pennileſſe* &c. to vindicate himſelf from being the author of Greene's *Groatſworth of Wit*.

of worſhip have reported his uprightneſs of dealing, which argues his honeſtie, and his facetious grace in writing, that approves his art,—" it may be reaſonably preſumed, that he had exhibited more than one comedy on the ſtage before the end of the year 1592; perhaps *Love's Labour's Loſt* in a leſs perfect ſtate than it now appears in, and *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*.

In what time ſoever he became acquainted with the theatre, we may preſume that he had not compoſed his firſt piece long before it was acted; for being early incumbered with a young family, and not in very affluent circumſtances, it is improbable that he ſhould have ſuffered it to lie in his cloſet, without endeavouring to derive ſome profit from it; and in the miſerable ſtate of the drama in thoſe days the meaneſt of his genuine plays muſt have been a valuable acquiſition, and would hardly have been refuſed by any of our ancient theatres.

In a *Diſſertation on the Three Parts of King Henry VI.* which I have ſubjoined to thoſe plays, I have mentioned that I do not believe *The Firſt Part of King Henry VI.* to have been the compoſition of Shakſpeare; or that at moſt he wrote but one or two ſcenes in it. It is unneceſſary here to repeat the circumſtances on which that opinion is founded. Not being Shakſpeare's play, (as I conceive,) at whatever time it might have been firſt exhibited, it does not interfere with the ſuppoſition already ſtated, that he had not produced any dramatick piece before 1590.

The Firſt Part of King Henry VI. which, I imagine, was formerly known by the name of *The Hiſtorical Play of King Henry VI.* had, I ſuſpect, been a very popular piece for ſome years before 1592, and perhaps was firſt exhibited in 1588 or

in 1589. Naſhe, in a tract entitled *Pierce Pennileſſe his Supplication to the Devill*, which was firſt publiſhed in 1592,[8] expreſsly mentions one of the characters in it, John Talbot, Earl of Shrewſbury, who dies in the fourth act of the piece, and who is not, I believe, introduced in any other play of that time. "How" (ſays he) "would it have joyed brave Talbot, *the terror of the French*,[9] to think that after he had lain two hundred years in his tomb, he ſhould triumph again on the ſtage, and have his bones new embalmed with the tears of ten thouſand ſpectators at leaſt, (at ſeveral times,) who, in the tragedian that repreſents his perſon, imagine they behold him freſh bleeding?"

In the Diſſertation above referred to, I have endeavoured to prove that this play was written neither by Shakſpeare, nor by the author or authors of the other two plays formed on a ſubſequent period of the reign of Henry the Sixth. By whom it *was* written, it is now, I fear, impoſſible to aſcertain. It was not entered on the Stationers' books nor printed, till the year 1623, when it was regiſtered with Shakſpeare's undiſputed plays by the editors of the firſt folio, and improperly entitled *The* Third *Part of King Henry VI.* In one ſenſe it might be called ſo, for two plays on the

[8] *Pierce Pennileſſe his Supplication* &c. was firſt publiſhed in that year, being entered for the firſt time on the Stationers' books by Richard Jones, Aug. 1592. There was a ſecond edition in the ſame year, printed by Abell Jeffes for John Buſbie.

[9] Thus Talbot is deſcribed in *The Firſt Part of K. Henry VI.* Act I. ſc. iii:

"Here, ſaid they, is *the terror of the French*:"

Again, in Act V. ſc. i:

"Is Talbot ſlain, the Frenchman's only ſcourge,
"Your kingdom's *terror*?"

ſubject of that reign had been printed before. But conſidering the hiſtory of that king, and the period of time which the piece comprehends, it ought to have been called, what in fact it is, *The Firſt Part of King Henry VI.*

At this diſtance of time it is impoſſible to aſcertain on what principle it was that our author's friends, Heminge and Condell, admitted *The* Firſt *Part of King Henry VI.* into their volume: but I ſuſpect they gave it a place as a neceſſary introduction to the two other parts, and becauſe Shakſpeare had made ſome ſlight alterations, and written a few new lines in it.

Titus Andronicus, as well as *The Firſt Part of King Henry VI.* may be referred to the year 1589, or to an earlier period; but not being in the preſent edition admitted into the regular ſeries of our author's dramas, I have not given it a place in the preceding table of his plays. In a note prefixed to that play, which may be found in Vol. XXI. p. 3, *& ſeq.* I have declared my opinion that *Andronicus* was not written by Shakſpeare, or that at moſt a very few lines in it were written by him; and have ſtated the reaſons on which that opinion is founded. From Ben Jonſon's Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, 1614, we learn that this piece had been exhibited on the ſtage twenty five or thirty years before, that is, at the loweſt computation, in 1589; or, taking a middle period, (which is perhaps more juſt,) in 1587. "A booke entitled a *Noble Roman Hiſtory of Titus Andronicus*," (without any author's name,) was entered at Stationers' Hall by John Danter, Feb. 6, 1593-4. This was undoubtedly the play, as it was printed in that year, according to Langbaine, who alone appears to have ſeen the firſt edition, and acted by

the ſervants of the Earls of Pembroke, Derby, and Suſſex. Of this play there was a ſecond edition in quarto in 1611, in the title-page of which neither the name of Shakſpeare, (though he was in the zenith of his reputation,) nor of any author, is found, and therefore we may preſume that the title-page of the firſt edition alſo (like the entry on the Stationers' books) was anonymous. Marlowe's *King Edward II.* and ſome other old plays were performed by the ſervants of the Earl of Pembroke, by whom not one of Shakſpeare's undiſputed dramas was exhibited.

2. } SECOND AND THIRD PARTS OF K. HENRY VI.
3. } 1591.

In a Diſſertation annexed to theſe plays, I have endeavoured to prove that they were not written *originally* by Shakſpeare, but formed by him on two preceding dramas, one of which is entitled *The Firſt Part of the Contention of the Two famous Houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter*, &c. and the other *The true Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, &c. My principal object in that Diſſertation was, to ſhow from various circumſtances that thoſe two old plays which were printed in 1600, were written by ſome writer or writers who preceded Shakſpeare, and moulded by him, with many alterations and additions, into the ſhape in which they at preſent appear in his works under the titles of *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.*; and if I have proved that point, I have obtained my end. I ventured, however, to go ſomewhat further, and to hazard a conjecture concerning the perſons by whom they were compoſed: but this was not at all material to my principal argument, which, whether my con-

jectures on that head were well or ill founded, will remain the ſame.

The paſſage which has been already quoted from Greene's pamphlet, led me to ſuſpect that the old plays were the production of either him, or Peele, or both of them. I too haſtily ſuppoſed that the words which have been printed in a former page,—"Yes, truſt them not; for there is an upſtart crow beautified with *our* feathers," &c. as they immediately followed a paragraph addreſſed to George Peele, were addreſſed to him particularly; and conſequently that the word *our* meant Peele and Greene, the writer of the pamphlet: but theſe words manifeſtly relate equally to the *three* perſons previouſly addreſſed, and allude to the theatrical compoſitions of Marlowe, Lodge, Peele, and Greene; whether we conſider the writer to lament in general that players avail themſelves of the labours of authors, and derive more profit from them than the authors themſelves, or ſuppoſe him to allude to ſome particular dramatick performances, which had been originally compoſed by himſelf or one of his friends, and thrown into a new form by ſome other dramatiſt, who was alſo a player. The two old plays therefore on which *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* were formed, may have been written by any one or more of the authors above enumerated. Towards the end of the Eſſay I have produced a paſſage from the old *King John*, 1591, from which it appeared to me probable that the two elder dramas, which comprehend the greater part of the reign of King Henry VI. were written by the author of *King John*, who ever he was; and ſome circumſtances which have lately ſtruck me, confirm an opinion which I formerly hazarded, that Chriſtopher Mar-

lowe was the author of that play. A paſſage in his hiſtorical drama of *King Edward II.* which Dr. Farmer has pointed out to me ſince the Diſſertation was printed, alſo inclines me to believe, with him, that Marlowe was the author of one, if not both, of the old dramas on which Shakſpeare formed the two plays which in the firſt folio edition of his works are diſtinguiſhed by the titles of *The* Second *and* Third *Parts of King Henry VI.*

Two lines in *The Third Part of King Henry VI.* have been produced as a deciſive and incontrovertible proof that theſe pieces were originally and entirely written by Shakſpeare. "Who" (ſays Mr. Capell,) "ſees not the future monſter, and *acknowledges at the ſame time the pen that drew it*, in theſe two lines only, ſpoken over a king who lies ſtabb'd before him, [i. e. before Richard Duke of Gloſter,]—

> "What, will the aſpiring blood of Lancaſter
> "Sink in the ground? I thought it would have mounted."

let him never pretend to diſcernment hereafter, in any caſe of this nature."

The two lines above quoted are found in *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, &c. on which, according to my hypotheſis, Shakſpeare's *Third Part of King Henry VI.* was formed. If therefore theſe lines deciſively mark the hand of Shakſpeare, the *old* as well as the *new* play muſt have been written by him, and the fabrick which I have built with ſome labour, falls at once to the ground. But let not the reader be alarmed; for if it ſuffers from no other battery but this, it may laſt till "the crack of doom." Marlowe, as Dr. Farmer obſerves

to me, has the very ſame phraſeology in *King Edward II:*

" —— ſcorning that the lowly *earth*
" *Should drink his blood, mounts up to the air.*"

and in the ſame play I have lately noticed another line in which we find the very epithet here applied to the pious Lancaſtrian king:

" Frown'ſt thou thereat, *aſpiring Lancaſter?*"

So much for Mr. Capell's irrefragable proof. It is not the proper buſineſs of the preſent Eſſay to enter further into this ſubject. I merely ſeize this opportunity of ſaying, that the preceding paſſages now incline me to think Marlowe the author of *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, &c. and perhaps of the other old drama alſo, entitled *The Firſt Part of the Contention of the Two famous Houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter.*

The latter drama was entered on the Stationers' books by T. Millington, March 12, 1593-4. This play, however, (on which *The* Second *Part of King Henry VI.* is formed,) was not then printed; nor was *The True Tragedie of Richard Duke of Yorke*, &c. on which Shakſpeare's *Third Part of King Henry VI.* is founded, entered at Stationers' Hall at the ſame time: but they were both printed *anonymouſly* by Thomas Millington, in quarto, in the year 1600.

A very ingenious friend has ſuggeſted to me, that it is not probable that Shakſpeare would have ventured to uſe the ground-work of another dramatiſt, and form a new play upon it, in the lifetime of the author or authors. I know not how much weight this argument is entitled to. We are

certain that Shakſpeare *did* tranſcribe a whole ſcene almoſt *verbatim* from *The* old *Taming of a Shrew*, and incorporate it into his own play on the ſame ſubject; and we do not know that the author of the original play was then dead. Suppoſing, however, this argument to have ſome weight, it does not tend in the ſlighteſt degree to overturn my hypotheſis that *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* were formed on the two preceding dramas, of which I have already given the titles; but merely to ſhow, that I am either miſtaken in ſuppoſing that they were new-modelled and re-written in 1591, or in my conjecture concerning the authors of the elder pieces on which thoſe of Shakſpeare were formed. Greene died in September, 1592, and Marlowe about May, 1593. By aſſigning our poet's part in theſe performances to the end of the year 1593 or the beginning of 1594, this objection is done away, whether we ſuppoſe Greene to have been the author of one of the elder plays, and Marlowe of the other, or that celebrated writer the author of them both.

Dr. Farmer is of opinion, that Ben Jonſon particularly alludes in the following verſes to our poet's having followed the ſteps of Marlowe in the plays now under our conſideration, and greatly *ſurpaſſed* his original:

> "For, if I thought my judgment were of years,
> "I ſhould commit thee ſurely with thy peers;
> "And tell how much thou did'ſt our Lily *out-ſhine*,
> "Or ſporting Kyd, or *Marlowe's* mighty line."

From the epithet *ſporting*, which is applied to Kyd, and which is certainly in ſome meaſure a quibble on his name, it is manifeſt that he muſt have produced ſome *comick* piece upon the ſcene,

as well as the two tragedies of his compoſition, which are now extant, *Cornelia*, and *The Spaniſh Tragedy*. This latter is printed, like many plays of that time, anonymouſly. Dr. Farmer with great probability ſuggeſts to me, that Kyd might have been the author of *The* old *Taming of a Shrew* printed in 1594, on which Shakſpeare formed a play with nearly the ſame title.[1] The praiſe which Ben Jonſon gives to Shakſpeare, that he "*outſhines* Marlowe and Kyd," on this hypotheſis, will appear to ſtand on one and the ſame foundation; namely on his eclipſing thoſe ancient dramatiſts by new-modelling their plays, and producing pieces much ſuperior to theirs, on ſtories which they had already formed into dramas, that, till Shakſpeare appeared, ſatisfied the publick, and were claſſed among the happieſt efforts of dramatick art.

4. A Midsummer-Night's Dream, 1592.

The poetry of this piece, glowing with all the warmth of a youthful and lively imagination, the many ſcenes which it contains of almoſt continual rhyme,[2] the poverty of the fable, and want of diſcrimination among the higher perſonages, diſpoſe me to believe that it was one of our author's earlieſt attempts in comedy.[3]

[1] Kyd was alſo, I ſuſpect, the author of the old plays of *Hamlet* and of *King Lear*. See p. 275.

[2] See p. 201, n. 3.

[3] Dryden was of opinion that *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, was our author's firſt dramatick compoſition:

"Shakſpeare's own muſe his *Pericles* firſt bore,
"*The Prince of Tyre* was elder than *The Moor*."

Prologue to the tragedy of *Circe*, by Charles D'Avenant, 1677.

It ſeems to have been written, while the ridiculous competitions prevalent among the hiſtrionick tribe, were ſtrongly impreſſed by novelty on his mind. He would naturally copy thoſe manners firſt, with which he was firſt acquainted. The ambition of a theatrical candidate for applauſe he

Mr. Rowe in his *Life of Shakſpeare* (firſt edition) ſays, "There is good reaſon to believe that the greateſt part of *Pericles* was not written by him, though *it is owned ſome part of it certainly was, particularly the laſt Act.*" I have not been able to learn on what authority the latter aſſertion was grounded. Rowe in his ſecond edition omitted the paſſage.

Pericles was not entered on the Stationers' books till May 2, 1608, nor printed till 1609; but the following lines in a metrical pamphlet, entitled *Pimlyco, or Runne Red-cap*, 1609, aſcertain it to have been written and exhibited on the ſtage, prior to that year:

"Amazde I ſtood to ſee a crowd
"Of civil throats ſtretch'd out ſo lowd:
"(As at a new play,) all the roomes
"Did ſwarm with gentiles mix'd with groomes;
"So that I truly thought all theſe
"Came to ſee *Shore* or *Pericles*."

The play of *Jane Shore* is mentioned (together with another very ancient piece not now extant) in *The Knight of the Burning Peſtle*, 1613: "I was ne'er at one of theſe plays before; but I ſhould have ſeen *Jane Shore*, and my huſband hath promiſed me any time this twelvemonth to carry me to *The Bold Beauchamps*." The date of *The Bold Beauchamps* is in ſome meaſure aſcertained by a paſſage in D'Avenant's *Playhouſe to be let*:

"——There is an old tradition,
"That in the times of mighty *Tamburlaine*,
"Of conjuring *Fauſtus*, and *The Beauchamps Bold*,
"You poets uſed to have the ſecond day."

Tamburlain and *Fauſtus* were exhibited in or before 1590.

The lamentable end of Shore's wife alſo made a part of the old anonymous play of *King Richard III.* which was entered in the Stationers' books, June 19, 1594. Both the dramas in which *Jane Shore* was introduced were probably on the ſtage ſoon after 1590; and from the manner in which *Pericles* is mentioned in the verſes above quoted, we may preſume, that drama was equally ancient and equally well known.

has happily ridiculed in *Bottom* the weaver. But among the more dignified perſons of the drama we look in vain for any traits of character. The manners of Hippolita, *the Amazon*, are undiſtinguiſhed from thoſe of other females. Theſeus, the aſſociate of Hercules, is not engaged in any adventure worthy of his rank or reputation, nor is he in reality an agent throughout the play. Like King Henry VIII. he goes out a Maying. He meets the lovers in perplexity, and makes no effort to promote their happineſs; but when ſupernatural accidents have reconciled them, he joins their company, and concludes his day's entertainment by uttering ſome miſerable puns at an interlude repreſented by a troop of clowns. Over the fairy part of the drama he cannot be ſuppoſed to have any influence. This part of the fable, indeed, (at leaſt as much of it as relates to the quarrels of Oberon and Titania,) was not of our author's invention.[4]—Through the whole piece, the more

[4] The learned editor of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, printed in 1775, obſerves in his introductory diſcourſe, (Vol. IV. p. 161,) that Pluto and Proſerpina in the Marchant's Tale, appear to have been "the true progenitors of Shakſpeare's Oberon and Titania." In a tract already quoted, *Greene's Groatſworth of Witte*, 1592, a player is introduced, who boaſts of having performed the part of *the King of Fairies* with applauſe. Greene himſelf wrote a play, entitled *The Scottiſhe Hiſtorie of James the Fourthe, ſlaine at Floddon, interlaced with a pleaſant Comedie preſented by Oberon King of Fayeries*; which was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1594, and printed in 1598. Shakſpeare, however, does not appear to have been indebted to this piece. The plan of it is thortly this. Bohan, a Scot, in conſequence of being diſguſted with the world, having retired to a tomb where he has fixed his dwelling, is met by *Aſter Oberon*, king of the fairies, who entertains him with an antick or dance by his ſubjects. Theſe two perſonages, after ſome converſation, determine to liſten to a tragedy, which is acted before them, and to which they make a kind of chorus, by moralizing at the end of each Act.

exalted characters are ſubſervient to the intereſts of thoſe beneath them. We laugh with Bottom and his fellows, but is a ſingle paſſion agitated by the faint and childiſh ſolicitudes of Hermia and Demetrius, of Helena and Lyſander, thoſe ſhadows of each other?—That a drama, of which the principal perſonages are thus inſignificant, and the fable thus meagre and unintereſting, was one of our author's earlieſt compoſitions, does not, therefore, ſeem a very improbable conjecture; nor are the beauties with which it is embelliſhed, inconſiſtent with this ſuppoſition; for the genius of Shakſpeare, even in its minority, could embroider the coarſeſt materials with the brighteſt and moſt laſting colours.

Oberon and *Titania* had been introduced in a dramatick entertainment exhibited before Queen Elizabeth in 1591, when ſhe was at Elvetham in Hampſhire; as appears from *A Deſcription of the Queene's Entertainment in Progreſs at Lord Hartford's*, &c. printed in 4to. in 1591. Her majeſty, after having been peſtered a whole afternoon with ſpeeches in verſe from the three Graces, Sylvanus, Wood Nymphs, &c. is at length addreſſed by the Fairy Queen, who preſents her majeſty with a chaplet,

"Given me by Auberon [Oberon] the fairie king."

A Midſummer-Night's Dream was not entered at Stationers' Hall till Oct. 8, 1600, in which year it was printed; but is mentioned by Meres in 1598.

From the comedy of *Doctor Dodipoll*, Mr. Steevens has quoted a line, which the author ſeems to have borrowed from Shakſpeare:

" 'Twas I that led you through the painted meads,
" Where the light *fairies* danc'd upon the *flowers*,
" *Hanging in every leaf an orient pearl.*"

So, in *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*:

" And *hang a pearl* in ev'ry cowſlip's ear."

Again:

" And that ſame dew, which ſometimes on the buds
" Was wont to ſwell, like round and *orient pearls*,
" Stood now within the pretty *flouret's* eyes,
" Like tears," &c.

There is no earlier edition of the anonymous play in which the foregoing lines are found, than that in 1600; but *Doctor Dodipowle* is mentioned by Naſhe, in his preface to *Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is up*, printed in 1596.

The paſſage in the fifth Act, which has been thought to allude to the death of Spenſer,[5] is not inconſiſtent with the early appearance of this comedy; for it might have been inſerted between the time of that poet's death, and the year 1600, when the play was publiſhed. And indeed, if the alluſion was intended, which I do not believe, the paſſage muſt have been added in that interval; for *A Midſummer-Night's Dream* was certainly written in, or before 1598, and Spenſer, we are told by Sir James Ware, (whoſe teſtimony with reſpect to this controverted point muſt have great weight,) did not die till 1599: "others, (he adds,) have it *wrongly*, 1598."[6] So careful a ſearcher into anti-

[5] " The thrice three muſes, mourning for the death
" Of Learning, *late* deceas'd in beggary."

[6] Preface to Spenſer's *View of the State of Ireland*. Dublin,

quity, who lived ſo near the time, is not likely to

fol. 1633. This treatiſe was written, according to Sir James Ware, in 1596. The teſtimony of that hiſtorian, relative to the time of Spenſer's death, is confirmed by a fact related by Ben Jonſon to Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, and recorded by that writer. When Spenſer and his wife were forced in great diſtreſs to fly from their houſe, which was burnt in the Iriſh Rebellion, the Earl of Eſſex ſent him twenty pieces; but he refuſed them; telling the perſon that brought them, he was ſure he had no time to ſpend them. He died ſoon afterwards, according to Ben Jonſon's account, in King Street. Lord Eſſex was not in Ireland in 1598, and was there from April to September in the following year.

It ſhould alſo be remembered that verſes by Spenſer are prefixed to Lewknor's *Commonwealth and Government of Venice*, publiſhed in 1599.

That this celebrated poet was alive in Sept. 1598, is proved by the following paper, addreſſed by Queen Elizabeth to the Lords Juſtices of Ireland, which is preſerved in the Muſeum, *MSS. Harl.* 286, and has not, I believe, been noticed by any of his biographers:

"Laſt of Sept. 1598.

"To the Lords Juſtices of Ireland.

"Though we doubt not but you will without any motion from us have good regard for the appointing of meete and ſerviceable perſons to be Sheriffs in the ſeveral counties, which is a matter of great importance, eſpecially at this time, when all parts of the realme are tinged with the infection of rebellion, yet wee thinke it not amiſſe ſometime to recommend unto you ſuch men as wee ſhould [wiſh] to have for that office. Among whom we may juſtly reckon Edm. Spenſer, a gentleman dwelling in the county of Corke, who is ſo well known unto you all for his good and commendable parts, (being a man endowed with good knowledge in learning, and not unſkilful or without experience in the ſervice of the warres,) as we need not uſe many words in his behalf. And therefore as we are of opinion that you will favour him for himſelfe and of your own accord, ſo we do pray you that this letter may increaſe his credit ſo far forth with you as that he may not fayle to be appointed Sheriffe of the county of Corke, unleſſe there be to you knowne ſome important cauſe to the contrary.

"We are perſuaded he will ſo behave himſelfe in this particular as you ſhall have juſt cauſe to allowe of our recommendation, and his good ſervice. And ſo," &c.

have been miſtaken in a fact, concerning which he appears to have made particular inquiries.

The paſſage in queſtion, however, in my apprehenſion, has been miſunderſtood. It relates, I conceive, not to the death of Spenſer, but to *the nine Muſes lamenting the decay of learning*, in that author's poem entitled *The Tears of the Muſes*, which was publiſhed in 1591: and hence probably the words, "*late* deceas'd in beggary." This alluſion, if I am right in my conjecture, may ſerve to confirm the date aſſigned to *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*.

5. Comedy of Errors, 1593.

The only note of time that occurs in this play is found in the following paſſage:

"*Ant. S.* In what part of her body ſtands—*France?*"

"*Drom. S.* In her forehead, arm'd and reverted, making war againſt the *hair*."

I have no doubt that an equivoque was here intended, and that, beſide the obvious ſenſe, an alluſion was intended to King Henry IV. the *heir* of France,[?] concerning whoſe ſucceſſion to the throne there was a civil war in that country, from Auguſt 1589, when his father was aſſaſſinated, for ſeveral years. Henry, after ſtruggling long againſt the power and force of the League, extricated himſelf from all his difficulties by embracing the Roman Catholick religion at St. Denis, on Sunday the 25th of July, 1593, and was crowned King of France in Feb. 1594; I therefore imagine this play

[?] The words *heir* and *hair* were, I make no doubt, pronounced alike in Shakſpeare's time, and hence they are frequently confounded in the old copies of his plays.

was written before that period. In 1591 Lord Eſſex was ſent with 4000 troops to the French King's aſſiſtance, and his brother Walter was killed before Rouen in Normandy. From that time till Henry was peaceably ſettled on the throne, many bodies of troops were ſent by Queen Elizabeth to his aid: ſo that his ſituation muſt then have been a matter of notoriety, and a ſubject of converſation in England.

This play was neither entered on the Stationers' books, nor printed, till 1623, but is mentioned by Meres in 1598, and exhibits internal proofs of having been one of Shakſpeare's earlieſt productions. I formerly ſuppoſed that it could not have been written till 1596; becauſe the tranſlation of the *Menæchmi* of Plautus, from which the plot appears to have been taken, was not publiſhed till 1595. But on a more attentive examination of that tranſlation, I find that Shakſpeare might have ſeen it before publication; for from the printer's advertiſement to the reader, it appears that for ſome time before it had been handed about in MS. among the tranſlator's friends. The piece was entered at Stationers' Hall, June 10, 1594, and as the author had tranſlated all the comedies of Plautus, it may be preſumed that the whole work had been the employment of ſome years: and this might have been one of the earlieſt tranſlated. Shakſpeare muſt alſo have read ſome other account of the ſame ſtory not yet diſcovered; for how otherwiſe could he have got the names of *Erraticus* and *Surreptus*, which do not occur in the tranſlation of Plautus? There the brothers are called Menæchmus *Soſicles*, and Menæchmus *the traveller*.

The *alternate* rhymes that are found in this play, as

well as in *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*, *Love's Labour's Loſt*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *Romeo and Juliet*, are a further proof that theſe pieces were among our author's earlieſt productions. We are told by himſelf that *Venus and Adonis* was "the firſt heir of his invention." *The Rape of Lucrece* probably followed ſoon afterwards. When he turned his thoughts to the ſtage, the meaſure which he had uſed in thoſe poems, naturally preſented itſelf to him in his firſt dramatick eſſays: I mean in thoſe plays which were written *originally* by himſelf. In thoſe which were grounded, like the *Henries*, on the preceding productions of other men, he naturally followed the example before him, and conſequently in thoſe pieces no alternate rhymes are found.

The doggrel meaſure, which, if I recollect right, is employed in none of our author's plays except *The Comedy of Errors*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, and *Love's Labour's Loſt*, alſo adds ſupport to the dates aſſigned to theſe plays: for theſe long doggrel verſes, as I have obſerved in a note at the end of the piece now under our conſideration, are written in that kind of metre which was uſually attributed by the dramatick poets before his time to ſome of their inferior characters. He was imperceptibly infected with the prevailing mode in theſe his early compoſitions; but ſoon learned to "deviate boldly from the common track," left by preceding writers.

A play with the ſame title as that before us, was exhibited at Gray's Inn in December, 1594; but I know not whether it was Shakſpeare's play, or a tranſlation from Plautus. "After ſuch ſports, (ſays the writer of *Geſta Grayorum*, 1688,) *a Comedy of Errors, like* to Plautus his *Menechmus*, was

played by the players: ſo that night was begun and continued to the end in nothing but confuſion and errors. Whereupon it was ever afterwards called *the Night of Errors.*" The Regiſters of Gray's Inn have been examined for the purpoſe of aſcertaining whether the play above mentioned was our author's; but they afford no information on the ſubject.

From its having been repreſented, by *the players*, not by the gentlemen of the inn, I think it probable that it was Shakſpeare's piece.

The name of *Dowſabel*, which is mentioned in this play, occurs likewiſe in an Eclogue entitled *The Shepherd's Garland*, by Michael Drayton, printed in 4to. in 1593.

6. The Taming of the Shrew, 1594.

This play and *The Winter's Tale* are the only pieces which I have found reaſon, ſince the firſt edition of this Eſſay appeared, to attribute to an era widely different from that in which I had originally placed them.[8] I had ſuppoſed the piece now under conſideration to have been written in the year 1606. On a more attentive peruſal of it, and more experience in our author's ſtyle and manner, I am perſuaded that it was one of his very early productions, and near in point of time to *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Loſt*, and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

In the old comedies, antecedent to the time of our author's writing for the ſtage, (if indeed they

[8] A *minute* change has been made in the arrangement of five other plays; *A Midſummer Night's Dream*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Loſt*, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, and *Cymbeline*; but the variation is not more than a period of two or three years.

deſerve that name,) a kind of doggrel meaſure is often found, which, as I have already obſerved, Shakſpeare adopted in ſome of thoſe pieces which were undoubtedly among his early compoſitions; I mean his *Errors*, and *Love's Labour's Loſt*. This kind of metre being found alſo in the play before us, adds ſupport to the ſuppoſition that it was one of his early productions. The laſt four lines of this comedy furniſh an example of the meaſure I allude to:

"'Twas I won the wager, though you hit the white,
"And being a winner, God give you good night.
"Now go thy ways, thou haſt tam'd a curſt ſhrew,
"'Tis a wonder, by your leave, ſhe will be tam'd ſo."

Another proof of *The Taming of the Shrew* being an early production ariſes from the frequent play of words which we find in it, and which Shakſpeare has condemned in a ſubſequent comedy.

Some of the incidents in this comedy are taken from the *Suppoſes* of Gaſcoigne, an author of conſiderable popularity, when Shakſpeare firſt began to write for the ſtage.

The old piece entitled *The Taming of a Shrew*, on which our author's play is founded, was entered on the Stationers' books by Peter Short, May 2, 1594, and probably ſoon afterwards printed. As it bore nearly the ſame title with Shakſpeare's play, (which was not printed till 1623,) the hope of getting a ſale for it under the ſhelter of a celebrated name, was probably the inducement to iſſue it out at that time; and its entry at Stationers' Hall, and publication in 1594,[8] (for from the paſſage quoted below it muſt have been publiſhed,[9]) gives weight

[8] It was publiſhed in 1596, and copies of the edition are in the libraries of the Dukes of Bridgwater and Roxburgh. REED.

[9] From a paſſage in a tract written by Sir John Harrington,

to the ſuppoſition that Shakſpeare's play was written and firſt acted in that year. There being no edition of the genuine play in print, the bookſeller hoped that the old piece with a ſimilar title might paſs on the common reader for Shakſpeare's performance. This appears to have been a frequent practice of the bookſellers in thoſe days; for Rowley's play of *King Henry VIII.* I am perſuaded, was publiſhed in 1605, and 1613, with the ſame view; as were *King Leir and his Three Daughters* in 1605, and Lord Sterline's *Julius Cæſar* in 1607.

In the year 1607 it is highly probable that this comedy of our author's was revived, for in that year Nicholas Ling republiſhed *The* old *Taming of a Shrew*, with the ſame intent, as it ſhould ſeem, with which that piece had originally been iſſued out by another bookſeller in 1594. In the entry made by Ling in the Stationers' books, January 22, 1606-7, he joined with this old drama two of Shakſpeare's genuine plays, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Love's Labour's Loſt*, neither of which he ever publiſhed, nor does his name appear in the title page of any one of our author's performances; ſo that thoſe two plays could only have been ſet down by him, along with the other, with ſome fraudulent intent.

In the ſame year alſo, (Nov. 17,) our author's genuine play was entered at Stationers' Hall, by J. Smethwyck [1] (one of the proprietors of the ſecond folio);

entitled *The Metamorphoſis of Ajax*, 1596, this old play appears to have been printed before that time, probably in the year 1594, when it was entered at Stationers' Hall; though no edition ſo early a date has hitherto been diſcovered. "*Read*" (ſays Sir John) "the *booke* of *Taming a Shrew*, which hath made a number of us ſo perfect, that now every one can rule a ſhrew in our country, ſave he that hath her."

[1] For this bookſeller *Romeo and Juliet* was printed in 4to. in

which circumſtance gives additional weight to the ſuppoſition that the play was *revived* in that year. Smethwyck had probably procured a copy of it, and had then thoughts of printing it, though for ſome reaſon, now undiſcoverable, it was not printed by him till 1631, eight years after it had appeared in the edition by the players in folio.

It ſhould be obſerved that there is a ſlight variation between the titles of the anonymous play and Shakſpeare's piece; both of which, in conſequence of the inaccuracy of Mr. Pope, and his being very ſuperficially acquainted with the phraſeology and manner of our early writers, were for a long time unjuſtly attributed to our poet. The old drama was called *The Taming of* a *Shrew*; Shakſpeare's comedy, *The Taming of* the *Shrew*.

It muſt not be concealed, however, that *The Taming of the Shrew* is not enumerated among our author's plays by Meres in 1598; a circumſtance which yet is not ſufficient to prove that it was not then written: for neither is *Hamlet* nor *The Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* mentioned by him; though thoſe three plays had undoubtedly appeared before that year.

I formerly imagined that a line[a] in this comedy alluded to an old play written by Thomas Heywood, entitled *A Woman kill'd with Kindneſs*, of which the ſecond edition was printed in 1607, and the firſt probably not before the year 1600; but the

1600, and an edition of *Hamlet* without date; the latter was printed either in that year or 1607.

[a] "This is the way to kill a wife with kindneſs." *Taming of the Shrew*, Act IV. ſc. i. Heywood's play is mentioned in *The Black Booke*, 4to. 1604. I am not poſſeſſed of the firſt edition of it, nor is it in any of the great collections of old plays that I have ſeen.

other proofs which I have already ſtated with reſpect to the date of the play before us, have convinced me that I was miſtaken.

7. Love's Labour's Loſt, 1594.

Shakſpeare's natural diſpoſition leading him, as Dr. Johnſon has obſerved, to comedy, it is highly probable that his firſt *original* dramatick production was of the comick kind: and of his comedies *Love's Labour's Loſt* appears to me to bear ſtrong marks of having been one of his earlieſt eſſays. The frequent rhymes with which it abounds,[3] of

[3] As this circumſtance is more than once mentioned, in the courſe of theſe obſervations, it may not be improper to add a few words on the ſubject of our author's metre. A mixture of rhymes with blank verſe, in the ſame play, and ſometimes in the ſame ſcene, is found in almoſt all his pieces, and is not peculiar to Shakſpeare, being alſo found in the works of Jonſon, and almoſt all our ancient dramatick writers. It is not, therefore, merely the uſe of rhymes, mingled with blank verſe, but their *frequency*, that is here urged, as a circumſtance which ſeems to characterize and diſtinguiſh our poet's earlieſt performances. In the whole number of pieces which were written antecedent to the year 1600, and which, for the ſake of perſpicuity, have been called his *early compoſitions*, more rhyming couplets are found, than in all the plays compoſed ſubſequently to that year, which have been named his *late productions*. Whether in proceſs of time Shakſpeare grew weary of the bondage of rhyme, or whether he became convinced of its impropriety in a dramatick dialogue, his neglect of rhyming (for he never wholly diſuſed it) ſeems to have been *gradual*. As, therefore, moſt of his early productions are characterized by the multitude of ſimilar terminations which they exhibit, whenever of two early pieces it is doubtful which preceded the other, I am diſpoſed to believe, (other proofs being wanting,) that play in which the greater number of rhymes is found, to have been firſt compoſed. The plays founded on the ſtory of King Henry VI. do not indeed abound in rhymes; but this probably aroſe from their being *originally* conſtructed by preceding writers.

which, in his early performances he ſeems to have been extremely fond, its imperfect verſification, its artleſs and deſultory dialogue, and the irregularity of the compoſition, may be all urged in ſupport of this conjecture.

Love's Labour's Loſt was not entered at Stationers' Hall till the 22d of January, 1606-7, but is mentioned by Francis Meres,[4] in his *Wit's Treaſury, being the Second Part of Wit's Commonwealth*,[5] in 1598, and was printed in that year. In the title-page of this edition, (the oldeſt hitherto diſcovered,) this piece is ſaid to have been *preſented before her highneſs* [Queen Elizabeth] *the laſt Chriſtmas*, [1597,] and to be *newly corrected and augmented*: from which it ſhould ſeem, either that there had been a former impreſſion, or that the play had been originally repreſented in a leſs perfect ſtate, than that in which it appears at preſent.

I think it probable, that our author's firſt draft of this play was written in or before 1594; and that ſome additions were made to it between that year and 1597, when it was exhibited before the

[4] This writer, to whoſe liſt of our author's plays we are ſo much indebted, appears, from the following paſſage of the work here mentioned, to have been perſonally acquainted with Shakſpeare:

"As the ſoul of Euphorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, ſo the ſweet ſoul of Ovid lives in melliſluous and honey-tongued Shakſpeare. Witneſs his *Venus and Adonis*, his *Lucrece*, his ſugred *Sonnets* among his private friends," &c. *Wit's Treaſury*, p. 282. There is no edition of Shakſpeare's *Sonnets*, now extant, of ſo early a date as 1598, when Meres's book was printed; ſo that we may conclude, he was one of thoſe friends to whom they were privately recited, before their publication.

[5] This book was probably publiſhed in the latter end of the year 1598, for it was not entered at Stationers' Hall till September in that year.

Queen. One of thoſe additions may have been the paſſage which ſeems to allude to *The Metamorphoſis of Ajax*, by Sir John Harrington, printed in 1596: "Your lion—will be given to *A-jax*."[6] This, however, is not certain; for the conceit of *A-jax* and *a jakes* may not have originated with Harrington, and may hereafter be found in ſome more ancient tract.

In this comedy Don Armado ſays,—"The *firſt* and *ſecond cauſe* will not ſerve my turn: the *paſſado* he reſpects not, the *duello* he regards not: his diſgrace is to be called boy; but his glory is to ſubdue man." Shakſpeare ſeems here to have had in his thoughts Saviolo's treatiſe *Of Honour and honourable Quarrels*, publiſhed in 1595.[7] This paſſage alſo may have been an addition.

Bankes's horſe, which is mentioned in the play before us, had been exhibited in London in or before 1589, as appears from a ſtory recorded in Tarlton's *Jeſts*.[8]

[6] See Vol. VII. p. 187, n. 1.

[7] See a note on *As you like it*, Vol. VIII. p. 181, n. 5.

[8] "There was one Bankes in the time of Tarlton, who ſerved the Earl of Eſſex, and had a horſe of ſtrange qualities; and being at the Croſs Keyes in Gracious-ſtreete, getting money with him, as he was mightily reſorted to, Tarlton then (with his fellowes) playing at the Bell [i. *Bull*] by, came into the Croſs keyes, amongſt many people to ſee faſhions: which Bankes perceiving, to make the people laugh, ſaies, *Signior*, to his horſe, *go fetch me the veriеſt foole in the company*. The jade comes immediately, and with his mouth drawes Tarlton forth. Tarlton, with merry words, ſaid nothing but *God a-mercy, horſe*. In the end Tarlton ſeeing the people laugh at, was angry inwardly, and ſaid, *Sir, had I power of your horſe, as you have, I would do more than that. Whate'er it be*, ſaid Bankes, to pleaſe him, *I will charge him to do it. Then*, ſaies Tarlton, *charge him to bring me the veryeſt whore-maſter in the company. He ſhall*, ſaies Bankes. *Signior*, ſaies he, *bring Maſter Tarl-*

In this comedy there is more attempt at delineation of character than in either *The Comedy of Errors* or *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*; a circumſtance which inclines me to think that it was written ſubſequently to thoſe plays. Biron and Katharine, as Mr. Steevens, I think, has obſerved, are faint prototypes of Benedick and Beatrice.

The doggrel verſes in this piece, like thoſe in *The Comedy of Errors*, are longer and more hobling than thoſe which have been quoted from *The Taming of the Shrew*:

> " You two are bookmen: can you tell by your wit
> " What was a month old at Cain's birth, that's not five
> weeks old as yet?"—
> " O' my truth moſt ſweet jeſts! moſt incony vulgar wit,
> " When it comes ſo ſmoothly off, ſo obſcenely as it were,
> ſo fit," &c.

This play is mentioned in a mean poem intitled *Alba, the Months Minde of a melancholy Lover*, by R. T. Gentleman, printed 1598:

> " *Love's Labour Loſt* I once did ſee, a play
> " Y-cleped ſo, ſo called to my paine,
> " Which I to heare to my ſmall joy did ſtay,
> " Giving attendance to my froward dame:
> " My miſgiving mind preſaging to me ill,
> " Yet was I drawne to ſee it 'gainſt my will.
> * * * * * *
> " Each actor plaid in cunning wiſe his part,
> " But chiefly thoſe entrapt in Cupid's ſnare;
> " Yet all was fained, 'twas not from the hart,
> " They ſeeme to grieve, but yet they felt no care:
> " 'Twas I that griefe indeed did beare in breſt,
> " The others did but make a ſhew in jeſt."

ton the veryeſt whore-maſter in the company. The horſe leads his maſter to him. Then *God-a-mercy, horſe*, indeed ſaies Tarleton. The people had much ado to keep peace: but Bankes and Tarleton had like to have ſquared, and the horſe by, to give aime. But ever after it was a by word thorow London, *God-a-mercy, horſe* [illegible] is to this day." Tarleton's *Jeſts*, 4to. 1611. —Tarleton died in 1589.

Mr. Gildon, in his obſervations on *Love's Labour's Loſt*, ſays, he "*cannot ſee why the author gave it this name.*"—The following lines exhibit the train of thoughts which probably ſuggeſted to Shakſpeare this title, as well as that which anciently was affixed to another of his comedies,—*Love's Labour Won*:

> "To be *in love*, where ſcorn is bought with groans,
> "Coy looks with heart-ſore ſighs; one fading moment's mirth
> "With twenty watchful, weary, tedious nights:
> "If haply *won*, perhaps a hapleſs gain;
> "If *loſt*, why then a grievous *labour won*."
>
> *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Act I. ſc. i.

8. Two Gentlemen of Verona, 1595.

This comedy was not entered on the books of the Stationers' Company till 1623, at which time it was firſt printed; but is mentioned by Meres in 1598, and bears ſtrong internal marks of an early compoſition. The comick parts of it are of the ſame colour with the comick parts of *Love's Labour's Loſt*, *The Comedy of Errors*, and *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*; and the ſerious ſcenes are eminently diſtinguiſhed by that elegant and paſtoral ſimplicity which might be expected from the early effuſions of ſuch a mind as Shakſpeare's, when employed in deſcribing the effects of love. In this piece alſo, as in *The Comedy of Errors* and *Love's Labour's Loſt*, ſome alternate verſes are found.

Sir William Blackſtone concurs with me in opinion on this ſubject; obſerving, that "one of the great faults of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is the haſtening too abruptly and without preparation

to the denouëment, which ſhows that it was one of Shakſpeare's very early performances."

The following lines in Act I. ſc. iii. have induced me to aſcribe this play to the year 1595:

"——— He wonder'd, that your lordſhip
"Would ſuffer him to ſpend his youth at home,
"While other men, of ſlender reputation,
"Put forth their ſons to ſeek preferment out:
"*Some to the wars, to try their fortunes there,*
"*Some, to diſcover iſlands far away.*"

Shakſpeare, as has been often obſerved, gives to almoſt every country the manners of his own: and though the ſpeaker is here a Veroneſe, the poet, when he wrote the laſt two lines, was thinking of England; where voyages for the purpoſe of *diſcovering iſlands far away* were at this time much proſecuted. In 1595, Sir Walter Rawleigh undertook a voyage to the iſland of Trinidado, from which he made an expedition up the river Oronoque, to diſcover Guiana. Sir Humphry Gilbert had gone on a ſimilar voyage of diſcovery the preceding year.

The particular ſituation of England in 1595 may have ſuggeſted the line above quoted: "Some to the wars," &c. In that year it was generally believed that the Spaniards meditated a ſecond invaſion of England with a much more powerful and better appointed Armada than that which had been defeated in 1588. Soldiers were levied with great diligence, and placed on the ſea-coaſts, and two great fleets were equipped; one to encounter the enemy in the Britiſh ſeas; the other to ſail to the Weſt-Indies, under the command of Hawkins and Drake, to attack the Spaniards in their own territories. About the ſame time alſo Elizabeth ſent a conſiderable body of troops to the aſſiſtance of

King Henry IV. of France, who had entered into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the Engliſh Queen, and had newly declared war againſt Spain. Our author therefore, we ſee, had abundant reaſon for both the lines before us:

> "Some to the wars, to try their fortunes there,
> "Some to diſcover iſlands far away."

Among the marks of love, Speed in this play (Act II. ſc. i.) enumerates the walking alone, "like one that had the peſtilence." In the year 1593 there had been a great plague, which carried off near eleven thouſand perſons in London. Shakſpeare was undoubtedly there at that time, and his own recollection probably furniſhed him with this image. There had not been a great plague in the metropolis, if I remember right, ſince that of 1564, of which our poet could have no perſonal knowledge, having been born in that year.

Valentinus putting himſelf at the head of a band of outlaws in this piece, has been ſuppoſed to be copied from Sydney's *Arcadia*, where Pylades heads the Helots. The firſt edition of the *Arcadia* was in 1590.

In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* there are two alluſions to the ſtory of Hero and Leander, which I ſuſpect Shakſpeare had read recently before he compoſed this play. Marlowe's poem on that ſubject was entered at Stationers' Hall, Sept 18, 1593, and I believe was publiſhed in that or the following year, though I have met with no copy earlier than that printed in quarto in 1598. Though that ſhould have been the firſt edition, Shakſpeare might yet have read this poem ſoon after the author's death in 1593: for Marlowe's fame was deſervedly ſo high, that a piece left by him for publication

was probably handed about in manuſcript among his theatrical acquaintances antecedent to its being iſſued from the preſs.

In the following lines of this play,

> " Why, Phaeton, (for thou art Merops' ſon,)
> " Wilt thou aſpire to guide the heavenly car,
> " And with thy daring folly burn the world?"

the poet, as Mr. Steevens has obſerved, might have been furniſhed with his mythology by the old play of *King John*, in two parts, 4to. 1591:

> " ——— as ſometimes *Phaeton*,
> " Miſtruſting ſilly *Merops* for his ſire."

If I am right in ſuppoſing our author's *King John* to have been written in 1596, it is not improbable that he read the old play with particular attention antecedently to his ſitting down to compoſe a new drama on the ſubject; perhaps in the preceding year: and this circumſtance may add ſome weight to the date now aſſigned to the play before us.

9. Romeo and Juliet, 1595.

It has been already obſerved, that our author in his early plays appears to have been much addicted to rhyming; a practice from which he gradually departed, though he never wholly deſerted it. In this piece *more* rhymes, I believe, are found, than in any other of his plays, *Love's Labour's Loſt* and *A Midſummer-Night's Dream* only excepted. This circumſtance, the ſtory on which it is founded, ſo likely to captivate a young poet, the imperfect form in which it originally appeared, and its very

early publication,[9] all incline me to believe that this was Shakſpeare's firſt tragedy; for the three parts of *King Henry VI.* do not pretend to that title.

"A new ballad of *Romeo and Juliet*" (perhaps our author's play,) was entered on the Stationers' books, Auguſt 5, 1596,[1] and the firſt ſketch of the play was printed in 1597; but it did not appear in its preſent form till two years afterwards.

This tragedy was originally repreſented by the ſervants of Lord Hunſdon, who was appointed Lord Chamberlain to Queen Elizabeth in 1585, and died in July, 1596. As it appears from the title-page of the original edition in 1597, that *Romeo and Juliet* had been *often acted* by the ſer-

[9] There is no edition of any of our author's genuine plays extant, prior to 1597, when *Romeo and Juliet* was publiſhed.

[1] There is no entry in the Stationers' books relative to the tragedy of *Romeo and Juliet*, antecedent to its publication in 1597, if this does not relate to it. This entry was made by Edward Whyte, and therefore is not likely to have related to the *poem* called *Romeo and Juletta*, which was entered in 1562, by Richard Tottel. How vague the deſcription of plays was at this time, may appear from the following entry, which is found in the Stationers' books, an. 1590, and ſeems to relate to Marlowe's *tragedy* of *Tamburlaine*, publiſhed in that year, by Richard Jones.

"To Richard Jones] Twoe Comicall *Diſcourſes* of Tamburlein, the Cythian Shepparde."

In Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, as originally performed, ſeveral comick interludes were introduced; whence perhaps, the epithet *comical* was added to the title.—As tragedies were ſometimes entitled *diſcourſes*, ſo a grave poem or *ſad diſcourſe*, in verſe, (to uſe the language of the time) was frequently denominated a *tragedy*. All the poems inſerted in the *Mirrour for Magiſtrates*, and ſome of Drayton's pieces, are called *tragedies*, by Meres and other ancient writers. Some of Sir David Lindſay's Poems, though not in a dramatick form, are alſo by their author entitled *tragedies*.

vants of that nobleman, it probably had been repreſented in the preceding year.

In the third Act *the firſt and ſecond cauſe* are mentioned: that paſſage, therefore, was probably written after the publication of Saviolo's Book on *Honour and Honourable Quarrels*; which appeared in 1595.

From ſeveral paſſages in the fifth Act of this tragedy it is manifeſt, I think, that Shakſpeare had recently read, and remembered, ſome of the lines in Daniel's *Complaint of Roſamond*, which, I believe, was printed in 1592:[2] the earlieſt edition, however, that I have ſeen of that piece is dated in 1594:

"And nought-reſpecting death, the laſt of paines,
"Plac'd his *pale colours*, (the *enſign* of his might,)
"Upon his new-got ſpoil," &c. *Complaint of Roſamond.*

"—— beauty's *enſign* yet
"Is crimſon in thy lips, and in thy cheeks,
"And *death's pale flag*," &c. *Romeo and Juliet.*

"Decayed roſes of diſcolour'd cheeks
"Do yet retain ſome notes of former grace,
"*And ugly death ſits ſaire within her face.*"
Complaint of Roſamond.

"Death that hath ſuck'd the honey of thy breath,
"Hath had no power yet upon thy beauty."
Romeo and Juliet.

"Ah now methinks I ſee *death dallying ſeeks*
"*To entertaine itſelfe in love's ſweet place.*"
Complaint of Roſamond.

[2] "A booke called *Delia*, containynge diverſe ſonates, with *the Complainte of Roſamonde*," was entered at Stationers' Hall by Simon Waterſon, in Feb. 1591-2, and the latter piece is commended by Naſhe in a tract entitled *Pierce Pennileſſe his Supplication to the Divell*, publiſhed in 1592.

" ——— Shall I believe
" That unſubſtantial *death is amorous?*"
Romeo and Juliet.

If the following paſſage in an old comedy already mentioned, entitled *Doctor Dodipoll*, which had appeared before 1596, be conſidered as an imitation, it may add ſome weight to the ſuppoſition that *Romeo and Juliet* had been exhibited before that year:

" The glorious parts of fair Lucilia,
" Take them and join them in the heavenly ſpheres,
" And fix them there as an eternal light,
" For lovers to adore and wonder at." *Dr. Dodipoll.*

" Take him and cut him out in little ſtars,
" And he will make the face of heaven ſo fine,
" That all the world ſhall be in love with night,
" And pay no worſhip to the gariſh ſun."
Romeo and Juliet.

In the fifth Act of this tragedy mention is made of the practice of ſealing up the doors of thoſe houſes in which " the infectious peſtilence did reign." Shakſpeare probably had himſelf ſeen this practiſed in the plague which raged in London in 1593.

From a ſpeech of the Nurſe in this play, which contains theſe words—" *It is now ſince the earthquake eleven years*," &c. Mr. Tyrwhitt conjectured, that *Romeo and Juliet*, or at leaſt part of it, was written in 1591; the novels from which Shakſpeare may be ſuppoſed to have drawn his ſtory, not mentioning any ſuch circumſtance; while on the other hand, there actually was an earthquake in England on the 6th of April, 1580, which he might here have had in view.[1]—It formerly ſeemed im-

[1] See *Romeo and Juliet*, Act I. ſc. iii.

probable to me that Shakſpeare, when he was writing this tragedy, ſhould have adverted, with ſuch preciſion, to the date of an earthquake which had been felt in his youth. The paſſage quoted ſtruck me, as only diſplaying one of thoſe characteriſtical traits, which diſtinguiſh old people of the lower claſs; who delight in enumerating a multitude of minute circumſtances that have no relation to the buſineſs immediately under their conſideration,[4] and are particularly fond of computing time from extraordinary events, ſuch as battles, comets, plagues, and earthquakes. This feature of their character our author has in various places ſtrongly marked. Thus (to mention one of many inſtances,) the Grave-digger in *Hamlet* ſays that he came to his employment, "of all the days i'the year, that day that the laſt king *o'ercame Fortinbras*,—that very day that young *Hamlet* was born."—A more attentive peruſal, however, of our poet's works, and his frequent alluſions to the manners and uſages of England, and to the events of his own time, which he has deſcribed as taking place wherever his ſcene happens to lie, have ſhown me that Mr. Tyrwhitt's conjecture is not ſo improbable as I once ſuppoſed it. Shakſpeare might have laid the foundation of this play in 1591, and finiſhed it at a ſubſequent period. The paſſage alluded to is in the *firſt* Act.

If the earthquake which happened in England in 1580, was in his thoughts, when he compoſed the firſt part of this play, and induced him to ſtate

[4] Thus Mrs. Quickly, in *King Henry IV.* reminds Falſtaff, that he "ſwore on a parcel-gilt goblet, to marry her, ſitting in her dolphin chamber, at a round table, by a ſea-coal fire, on Wedneſday in Whitſun-week, when the prince broke his head for likening his father to a ſinging man of Windſor."

the earthquake at Verona as happening on the day on which Juliet was *weaned*, and *eleven* years before the commencement of the piece, it has led him into a contradiction; for, according to the Nurſe's account, Juliet was within a fortnight and odd days of completing her *fourteenth* year; and yet, according to the computation made, ſhe could not well be much more than *twelve* years old. Whether indeed the Engliſh earthquake was, or was not, in his thoughts, the nurſe's account is inconſiſtent, and contradictory.

Perhaps Shakſpeare was more careful to mark the garrulity, than the preciſion of the old woman:—or perhaps, he meant this very incorrectneſs as a trait of her character:—or, without having recourſe to either of theſe ſuppoſitions, ſhall we ſay, that our author was here, as in ſome other places, haſty and inattentive? It is certain that there is nothing in which he is leſs accurate, than the computation of time. Of his negligence in this reſpect, *As you like it*, *Meaſure for Meaſure*, and *Othello*, furniſh remarkable inſtances.[5]

10. Hamlet, 1596.

The following paſſage is found in *An Epiſtle to the Gentlemen Students of the Two Univerſities*, by Thomas Naſhe, prefixed to Greene's *Arcadia*, which was publiſhed in 1589: "I will turn back to my firſt text of ſtudies of delight, and talk a little in friendſhip with a few of our trivial tranſlators. It is a common practice now a-days, among a ſort of

[5] See *Meaſure for Meaſure*, Act I. ſc. iii. and iv.—*As you like it*, Act IV. ſc. i. and iii.—*Othello*, Act III. ſc. iii: "I ſlept the *next night* well," &c.

ſhifting companions, that runne through every art, and thrive by none, to leave the trade of *Noverint*, whereto they were born, and buſie themſelves with the endevors of art, that could ſcarcely latinize their neck-verſe if they ſhould have neede; yet Engliſh *Seneca*, read by candle-light, yeelds many good ſentences, as *Bloud is a beggar*, and ſo forth: and, if you intreat him faire in a froſty morning, he will affoord you whole *Hamlets*, I ſhould ſay, Handfuls, of tragical ſpeeches. But O grief! *Tempus edax rerum*;—what is it that will laſt always? The ſea exhaled by drops will in continuance be drie; and *Seneca*, let bloud line by line, and page by page, at length muſt needes die to our ſtage."

Not having ſeen the firſt edition of this tract till a few years ago, I formerly doubted whether the foregoing paſſage referred to the tragedy of *Hamlet*; but the word *Hamlets* being printed in the original copy in a different character from the reſt, I have no longer any doubt upon the ſubject.

It is manifeſt from this paſſage that ſome play on the ſtory of *Hamlet* had been exhibited before the year 1589; but I am inclined to think that it was not Shakſpeare's drama, but an elder performance, on which, with the aid of the old proſe Hiſtory of Hamlet, his tragedy was formed. The great number of pieces which we *know* he formed on the performances of preceding writers,[6] renders it highly probable that ſome others alſo of his dramas were conſtructed on plays that are now loſt. Perhaps the original *Hamlet* was written by Thomas Kyd; who was the author of one play (and

[6] See the Diſſertation on the Three Parts of *King Henry VI.* Vol. XIV. p. 23.

probably of more) to which no name is affixed.[7] The only tragedy to which Kyd's name is affixed, (*Cornelia*,) is a profeſſed *tranſlation* from the French of Garnier, who, as well as his tranſlator, imitated Seneca. In Kyd's *Spaniſh Tragedy*, as in Shakſpeare's *Hamlet*, there is, if I may ſay ſo, a play repreſented *within a play*: if the old play of *Hamlet* ſhould ever be recovered, a ſimilar interlude, I make no doubt, would be found there; and ſomewhat of the ſame contrivance may be traced in *The* old *Taming of a Shrew*, a comedy which perhaps had the ſame author as the other ancient pieces now enumerated.

Naſhe ſeems to point at ſome dramatick writer of that time, who had originally been a ſcrivener or attorney:

> "A clerk foredoom'd his father's ſoul to croſs,
> "Who *penn'd* a ſtanza when he ſhould engroſs;"

who, inſtead of tranſcribing deeds and pleadings, choſe to imitate Seneca's plays, of which a tranſlation had been publiſhed many years before. Our author, however freely he may have borrowed from Plutarch and Holinſhed, does not appear to be at all indebted to Seneca; and therefore I do not believe that he was the perſon in Naſhe's contemplation. The perſon alluded to being deſcribed as originally bred to the law, (for the trade of *noverint* is the trade of an attorney or conveyancer,[8])

[7] *The Spaniſh Tragedy*.

[8] "The country lawyers too jog down apace,
"Each with his *noverint univerſi* face."
Ravenſcroft's Prologue prefixed to *Titus Andronicus*.
Our ancient deeds were written in Latin, and frequently began with the words, *Noverint Univerſi*. The form is ſtill retained in *Know all men*, &c.

I formerly conceived that this circumſtance alſo was deciſive to ſhow that Shakſpeare could not have been aimed at. I do not heſitate to acknowledge, that ſince the firſt edition of this eſſay, I have found reaſon to believe that I was miſtaken. The comprehenſive mind of our poet embraced almoſt every object of nature, every trade, every art; the manners of every deſcription of men, and the general language of almoſt every profeſſion: but his knowledge of legal terms is not merely ſuch as might be acquired by the caſual obſervation of even his all-comprehending mind; it has the appearance of *technical* ſkill; and he is ſo fond of diſplaying it on all occaſions, that I ſuſpect he was early initiated in at leaſt the forms of law; and was employed, while he yet remained at Stratford, in the office of ſome country attorney, who was at the ſame time a petty conveyancer, and perhaps alſo the Seneſchal of ſome manor court. I ſhall ſubjoin the proofs below.[2]

[2] " —— for what in me was *purchas'd*,
" Falls upon thee in a much fairer ſort."
King Henry IV. P. II.
Purchaſe is here uſed in its ſtrict legal ſenſe, in contradiſtinction to an acquiſition by *deſcent*.

" Unleſs the devil have him in fee-ſimple, with fine and recovery." *Merry Wives of Windſor.*

" He is 'reſted *on the caſe*." *Comedy of Errors.*

" —— with *bills* on their necks, *Be it known unto all men by theſe preſents*," &c. *As you like it.*

" —— who writes himſelf armigero, in any *bill, warrant quittance*, or *obligation*." *Merry Wives of Windſor.*

" Go with me to a notary, ſeal me there
" Your *ſingle bond*." *Merchant of Venice.*

" Say, for non-payment that the debt ſhould double."
Venus and Adonis.
On a conditional bond's becoming forfeited for non-payment of

The tragedy of *Hamlet* was not regiſtered in the books of the Stationers' Company till the 26th of

money borrowed, the whole penalty, which is uſually the double of the principal ſum lent by the obligee, was formerly recoverable at law. To this our poet here alludes.

" But the defendant doth that plea deny;
" To 'cide his title, is impanelled
" A queſt of thoughts." *Sonnet* 46.

In *Much Ado about Nothing*, Dogberry charges the watch to keep their *fellows' counſel and their own*. This Shakſpeare transferred from the oath of a grand juryman.

" And let my officers of ſuch a nature
" Make an *extent* upon his houſe and lands."
As you like it.

" He was taken *with the manner*." *Love's Lab. Loſt.*

" *Enfeof'd* himſelf to popularity." *King Henry IV.* P. I.

" He will ſeal the fee-ſimple of his ſalvation, and cut the entail from all remainders, and a perpetual ſucceſſion for it perpetually." *All's well that ends well.*

" Why, let her *except before excepted*." *Twelfth Night.*

" ——which is four terms, or two actions;—and he ſhall laugh without *intervallums*." *King Henry IV.* P. II.

" —— keeps leets and *law-days*." *King Richard II.*

" *Pray in aid* for kindneſs." *Antony and Cleopatra.*

No writer but one who had been converſant with the technical language of leaſes and other conveyances, would have uſed *determination* as ſynonymous to *end*. Shakſpeare frequently uſes the word in that ſenſe. See Vol. XII. p. 202, n. 2; Vol. XIII. p. 127, n. 4; and [Mr. Malone's edit.] Vol. X. p. 202, n. 8. " From and after the *determination* of ſuch term," is the regular language of conveyancers.

" Humbly complaining to your highneſs."
King Richard III.

" Humbly complaining to your lordſhip, your orator," &c. are the firſt words of every bill in chancery.

" A kiſs in fee farm! In witneſs whereof theſe parties interchangeably have ſet their hands and ſeals."
Troilus and Creſſida.

" Art thou a *feodary* for this act?" *Cymbeline.*
See the note on that paſſage, Vol. XVIII. p. 507, 508, n. 3.

July, 1602. I believe it was then publiſhed, though the earlieſt copy now extant is dated in 1604. In the title-page of that copy, the play is ſaid to be "*newly* imprinted, and enlarged to almoſt as much again *as it was, according to the true and perfect copy*;" from which words it is manifeſt that a former *leſs perfect* copy had been iſſued from the preſs.

In a tract entitled *Wits Miſerie or the World's Madneſſe, diſcovering the incarnate Devils of the Age*, by Thomas Lodge, which was publiſhed in quarto in 1596, one of the devils (as Dr. Farmer has obſerved) is ſaid to be "a foule lubber, and looks as pale as the vizard of the *ghoſt*, who cried ſo miſerably at the theatre, *Hamlet, revenge*." If the alluſion was to our author's tragedy, this paſſage will aſcertain its appearance in or before 1596; but Lodge may have had the elder play in his contemplation. We *know* however from the teſtimony of Dr. Gabriel Harvey, that Shakſpeare's *Hamlet* had been exhibited before 1598.[1]

"Are thoſe *precepts* ſerved?" ſays Shallow to Davy, in *King Henry IV.*

Precepts in this ſenſe is a word only known in the office of a Juſtice of Peace.

"Tell me, what ſtate, what dignity, what honour,
"Can'ſt thou *demiſe* to any child of mine?"
King Richard III.

"——hath *demiſed*, granted, and to farm let," is the conſtant language of leaſes. What *poet* but Shakſpeare has uſed the word *demiſed* in this ſenſe?

Perhaps it may be ſaid, that our author in the ſame manner may be proved to have been equally converſant with the terms of divinity or phyſick. Whenever as large a number of inſtances of his eccleſiaſtical or medicinal knowledge ſhall be produced, what has now been ſtated will certainly not be entitled to any weight.

[1] See Vol. X. [Mr. Malone's edition] p. 71.

The Caſe is altered, a comedy, attributed to Ben Jonſon, and written before the end of the year 1599,[2] contains a paſſage, which ſeems to me to have a reference to this play:

"*Angelo.* But firſt I'll *play the ghoſt*; *I'll call him out.*"[3]

In the ſecond Act of *Hamlet*, a conteſt between the ſinging boys of St. Paul's,[4] and the actors of the eſtabliſhed theatres, is alluded to. At what time that conteſt began, is uncertain. But, ſhould it appear not to have commenced till ſome years after the date here aſſigned, it would not, I apprehend, be a ſufficient reaſon for aſcribing this play to a later period; for, as additions appear to have been made to it after its firſt production, and we have ſome authority for attributing the firſt ſketch of it to 1596, or to an earlier period, till that authority is ſhaken, we may preſume, that any paſſage which is inconſiſtent with that date, was not in the play originally, but a ſubſequent inſertion.

With reſpect to the alluſion in queſtion, it pro-

[2] This comedy was not printed till 1609, but it had appeared many years before. The time when it was written, is aſcertained with great preciſion by the following circumſtances. It contains an alluſion to Meres's *Wit's Treaſury*, firſt printed in the latter end of the year 1598, (See p. 262, n. 5,) and is itſelf mentioned by Nathe in his *Lenten Stuff*, 4to. 1599.—"It is right of the merry cobler's ſtuff, in that witty play of *The Caſe is altered*."

[3] Jonſon's Works, Vol. VII. p. 362, Whalley's edit.

[4] Between the years 1595 and 1600, ſome of Lilly's comedies were performed by theſe children. Many of the plays of Jonſon were repreſented by them between 1600 and 1609.—From a paſſage in *Jack Drum's Entertainment, or the Comedy of Paſquil and Catharine*, which was printed in 1601, we learn that they were much followed at that time.

bably was an addition; for it is not found in the quarto of 1604, (which has not the appearance of a mutilated or imperfect copy,) nor did it appear in print till the publication of the folio in 1623.

The ſame obſervation may be made on the paſſage produced by Mr. Holt, to prove that this play was not written till after 1597. "*Their inhibition comes by means of the late innovation.*" This indeed, does appear in the quarto of 1604, but, we may preſume, was added in the interval between 1597, (when the ſtatute alluded to, 39 Eliz. ch. 4, was enacted,) and that year.

Heywood, in his *Apology for Actors*, 1612, complains of the *ſcurrility* introduced *lately* by the younger brood of players, in their theatrical exhibitions. This may ſerve to aſcertain the time when the paſſage which relates to them was inſerted in *Hamlet*.

11. KING JOHN, 1590.

This hiſtorical play was founded on a former drama, entitled *The Troubleſome Raigne of John King of England, with the Diſcoverie of King Richard Cordelion's baſe Son, vulgarly named the Baſtard Fawconbridge: alſo the Death of King John at Swinſtead Abbey. As it was (ſundry times) publikely acted by the Queenes Majeſties Players in the honourable Citie of London.* This piece, which is in two parts, and was printed at London for Sampſon Clarke, 1591, has no author's name in the title-page. On its republication in 1611, the bookſeller for whom it was printed, inſerted the letters *W. Sh.* in the title-page; and in order to conceal his fraud, omitted the words—*publikely—in the honourable Citie of London*, which he was aware would proclaim this

play not to be Shakſpeare's *King John*; the company to which he belonged, having no *publick* theatre in London: that in Blackfriars being a private play-houſe, and the Globe, which was a publick theatre, being ſituated in Southwark. He alſo, probably with the ſame view, omitted the following lines addreſſed *to the Gentlemen Readers*, which are prefixed to the firſt edition of the old play:

" You that with friendly grace of ſmoothed brow
" Have entertain'd *the Scythian Tamburlaine*,
" And given applauſe unto an infidel;
" Vouchſafe to welcome, with like curteſie,
" A warlike Chriſtian, and your countryman.
" For Chriſt's true faith indur'd he many a ſtorme,
" And ſet himſelfe againſt the man of *Rome*,
" Until baſe treaſon by a damned wight
" Did all his former triumphs put to flight.
" Accept of it, ſweete gentles, in good ſort,
" And thinke it was prepar'd for your diſport."

Shakſpeare's play being then probably often acted, and the other wholly laid aſide, the word *lately* was ſubſtituted for the word *publickly*: " —as they were ſundry times *lately* acted," &c.

Thomas Dewe, for whom a third edition of this old play was printed in 1622, was more daring. The two parts were then publiſhed, " *as they were ſundry times lately acted*; and the name of *William Shakſpeare* inſerted at length. *By the Queen's Majeſties players* was wiſely omitted, as not being very conſiſtent with the word *lately*, Elizabeth being then dead nineteen years.

King John is the only one of our poet's unconteſted plays that is not entered in the books of the Stationers' Company. It was not printed till 1623, but is mentioned by Meres in 1598, unleſs he miſtook the old play in two parts, printed in 1591, for the compoſition of Shakſpeare.

It is obſervable, that our author's ſon, Hamnet, died in Auguſt, 1596. That a man of ſuch ſenſibility, and of ſo amiable a diſpoſition, ſhould have loſt his only ſon, who had attained the age of twelve years, without being greatly affected by it, will not be eaſily credited. The pathetick lamentations which he has written for Lady Conſtance on the death of Arthur, may perhaps add ſome probability to the ſuppoſition that this tragedy was written at or ſoon after that period.

In the firſt ſcene of the ſecond Act the following lines are ſpoken by Chatillon, the French ambaſſador, on his return from England to King Philip:

> " And all the unſettled humours of the land—
> " Raſh, inconſiderate, fiery voluntaries,
> " With ladies' faces and fierce dragons' ſpleens,—
> " Have ſold their fortunes at their native homes,
> " Bearing their birth-rights proudly on their backs,
> " To make a hazard of new fortunes here.
> " In brief, a braver choice of dauntleſs ſpirits
> " Than now the Engliſh bottoms have waft o'er,
> " Did never float upon the ſwelling tide,
> " To do offence and ſcathe to Chriſtendom."

Dr. Johnſon has juſtly obſerved, in a note on this play, that many paſſages in our poet's works evidently ſhow that " he often took advantage of the facts then recent, and the paſſions then in motion." Perhaps the deſcription contained in the laſt ſix lines was immediately ſuggeſted to Shakſpeare by the grand fleet which was ſent againſt Spain in 1596. It conſiſted of eighteen of the largeſt of the Queen's ſhips, three of the Lord Admiral's, and above one hundred and twenty merchant-ſhips and victuallers, under the command of the earls of Nottingham and Eſſex. The regular land-forces on board amounted to [illegible] thouſand; and there was alſo a large body

of *voluntaries*, (as they were then called) under the command of Sir Edward Winkfield. Many of the nobility went on this expedition, which was deſtined againſt Cadiz. The fleet ſailed from Plymouth on the third of June, 1596; before the end of that month the great Spaniſh armada was deſtroyed, and the town of Cadiz was ſacked and burned. Here Lord Eſſex found 1200 pieces of ordnance, and an immenſe quantity of treaſure, ſtores, ammunition, &c. valued at twenty million of ducats. The victorious commanders of this ſucceſsful expedition returned to Plymouth, Auguſt 8, 1596, four days before the death of our poet's ſon. Many of our old hiſtorians ſpeak of the ſplendour and magnificence diſplayed by the noble and gallant adventurers who ſerved in this expedition; and Ben Jonſon has particularly alluded to it in his *Silent Woman*, written a few years afterwards.[s] To this I ſuſpect two lines already quoted particularly refer:

> "Have ſold their fortunes at their native homes,
> "*Bearing their birth-rights proudly on their backs.*"

Dr. Johnſon conceived that the following lines in this play—

> "And meritorious ſhall that hand be call'd,
> "Canonized, and worſhipp'd as a ſaint,
> "That takes away by any ſecret courſe
> "Thy hateful life."

might either refer to the bull publiſhed againſt Queen Elizabeth, or to the canonization of Garnet,

[s] "I had as fair a *gold jerkin* on that day as any was worn in the Iſland Voyage, or Cadiz, none diſpraiſed."
Silent Woman, 1609.

Faux, and their accomplices, who in a Spaniſh book which he had ſeen, are regiſtered as ſaints. If the latter alluſion had been intended, then this play, or at leaſt this part of it, muſt have been written after 1605. But the paſſage in queſtion is founded on a ſimilar one in the old play, printed in 1591, and therefore no alluſion to the gun-powder-plot could have been intended.

A line of *The Spaniſh Tragedy* is quoted in *King John*. That tragedy, I believe, had appeared in or before 1590.

In the firſt Act of *King John*, an ancient tragedy, entitled *Solyman and Perſeda*, is alluded to. The earlieſt edition of that play, now extant, is that of 1599, but it was written, and probably acted many years before; for it was entered on the Stationers' books, by Edward Whyte, Nov. 20, 1592.

Marſton's *Inſatiate Counteſs*, which, according to Langbaine, was printed in 1603, contains a paſſage, which, if it ſhould be conſidered as an imitation of a ſimilar one in *King John*, will aſcertain this hiſtorical drama to have been written at leaſt before that year:

> "Then how much more in me, whoſe youthful veins,
> "*Like a proud river, overflow their bounds.*"

So, in *King John*:

> "Why holds thine eye that lamentable rheum,
> "*Like a proud river peering o'er his bounds?*"

Marſton has in many other places imitated Shakſpeare.

A ſpeech ſpoken by the Baſtard in the ſecond Act of this tragedy[6] ſeems to have been formed on one

[6] See Vol. X. p. 399.

in an old play entitled *The famous Hiſtory of Captain Thomas Stukely*. Captain Stukely was killed in 1578. The drama of which he is the ſubject, was not printed till 1605, but it is in the black letter, and, I believe, had been exhibited at leaſt fifteen years before.

Of the only other note of time which I have obſerved in this tragedy, beſide thoſe already mentioned, I am unable to make any uſe. "When I was in *France*," ſays young Arthur,

> "Young gentlemen would be as ſad as night,
> "Only for wantonneſs."

I have not been able to aſcertain when the faſhion of being *ſad and gentlemanlike* commenced among our gayer neighbours on the continent. A ſimilar faſhion prevailed in England, and is often alluded to by our poet, and his contemporaries. Perhaps he has in this inſtance attributed to the French a ſpecies of affectation then only found in England. It is noticed by Lyly in 1592, and Ben Jonſon in 1598.

12. King Richard II. 1597.

King Richard II. was entered on the Stationers' books, Auguſt 29, 1597, and printed in that year.

There had been a former play on this ſubject, which appears to have been called *King Henry IV.* in which Richard was depoſed, and killed on the ſtage. This piece, as Dr. Farmer and Mr. Tyrwhitt have obſerved, was performed on a publick theatre, at the requeſt of Sir Gilly Merick, and ſome other followers of Lord Eſſex, the afternoon before his inſurrection: "ſo earneſt was he,"

(Merick) ſays the printed account of his arraignment, "to ſatisfy his eyes with a ſight of that tragedy which he thought ſoone after his lord ſhould bring from the ſtage to the ſtate." "The players told him the play was *old*, and they ſhould have loſs by playing it, becauſe few would come to it; but no play elſe would ſerve: and Sir Gilly Merick gave forty ſhillings to Philips the player to play this, beſides whatſoever he could get."[7]

It may ſeem ſtrange that this old play ſhould have been repreſented four years after Shakſpeare's drama on the ſame ſubject had been printed: the reaſon undoubtedly was, that in the old play the depoſing King Richard II. made a part of the exhibition: but in the firſt edition of our author's play, one hundred and fifty-four lines, deſcribing a kind of trial of the king, and his actual depoſition in parliament, were omitted: nor was it probably repreſented on the ſtage. Merick, Cuffe, and the reſt of Eſſex's train, naturally preferred the play in which his *depoſition* was repreſented, their plot not aiming at the life of the queen. It is, I know, commonly thought, that the parliament-ſcene, (as it is called,) which was firſt printed in the quarto of 1608, was an addition made by Shakſpeare to his play after its firſt repreſentation: but it ſeems to me more probable that it was written with the reſt, and ſuppreſſed in the printed copy of 1597, from the fear of offending Elizabeth; againſt whom the Pope had publiſhed a bull in the preceding year, exhorting her ſubjects to take up arms againſt her. In 1599 Hayward publiſhed his *Hiſtory of the Firſt Year of Henry IV.* which in fact is nothing

[7] Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. 412. *State Trials*, Vol. VIII. p. 60.

more than an hiſtory of the depoſing Richard II. The diſpleaſure which that book excited at court, ſufficiently accounts for the omitted lines not being inſerted in the copy of this play which was publiſhed in 1602. Hayward was heavily cenſured in the Star-chamber, and committed to priſon. At a ſubſequent period, (1608,) when King James was quietly and firmly ſettled on the throne, and the fear of internal commotion, or foreign invaſion, no longer ſubſiſted, neither the author, the managers of the theatre, nor the bookſeller, could entertain any apprehenſion of giving offence to the ſovereign: the rejected ſcene was reſtored without ſcruple, and from ſome playhouſe copy probably found its way to the preſs.

13. King Richard III. 1597.

Entered, at the Stationers' Hall, Oct. 20, 1597. Printed in that year.

14. First Part of King Henry IV. 1597.

Entered, Feb. 25, 1597. [1597-8.] Written therefore probably in 1597. Printed in 1598.

15. Second Part of King Henry IV. 1598.

The Second Part of King Henry IV. was entered in the Stationers' books, Auguſt 23, 1600, and was printed in that year. It was written, I believe, in 1598. From the epilogue it appears to have been compoſed before *King Henry V.* which itſelf muſt have been written in or before 1599.

Meres in his *Wit's Treaſury*, which was publiſhed in September 1598, has given a liſt of our author's plays, and among them is *King Henry IV.*; but as he does not deſcribe it as a play in two parts, I doubt whether this ſecond part had been exhibited, though it might have been then written. If it was not in his contemplation, it may be preſumed to have appeared in the latter part of the year 1598. His words are theſe: "As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the beſt for comedy and tragedy, among the Latines, ſo Shakſpeare, among the Engliſh, is the moſt excellent in both kinds for the ſtage: for comedy, witneſs his *Gentlemen of Verona*, his *Errors*, his *Love's Labour's Loſt*, his *Love's Labour's Wonne*, his *Midſummer-Night's Dream*, and his *Merchant of Venice*; for tragedy,[8] his *Richard II. Richard III.* HENRY IV. *King John*, *Titus Andronicus*, and his *Romeo and Juliet*."[9]

The following alluſion to one of the characters in this play, which is found in *Every Man out of his Humour*, Act V. ſc. ii. firſt acted in 1599, is an additional authority for ſuppoſing *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* to have been written in 1598:

"*Savi.* What's he, gentle Monſ. Briſk? Not that gentleman?

"*Faſt.* No, lady; this is a kinſman to *Juſtice Shallow*."

That this play was not written before the year 1596, is aſcertained by the following alluſions. In the laſt Act, Clarence, ſpeaking of his father, ſays,

[8] The circumſtance of Hotſpur's death in this play, and its being an hiſtorical drama, I ſuppoſe, induced *Meres* to denominate *The Firſt Part of King Henry IV.* a tragedy.

[9] *Wit's Treaſury*, p. 282.

" The inceſſant care and labour of his mind
" Hath wrought the mure that ſhould confine it in,
" So thin, that life looks through, and will break out."

Theſe lines appear to have been formed on the following in Daniel's *Civil Warres*, 1595, B. III. ſt. 116:

" Wearing the wall ſo thin, that now the mind
" Might well look thorough, and his frailty find."

Daniel's poem, though not publiſhed till 1595, was entered on the Stationers' books, in October, 1594.

The diſtich, with which Piſtol conſoles himſelf, *Si fortuna me tormenta*, &c. had, I believe, appeared in an old collection of tales, and apothegms, entitled *Wits, Fits, and Fancies*, which was entered at Stationers' Hall in 1595, and probably printed in that year. Sir Richard Hawkins, as Dr. Farmer has obſerved, " in his voyage to the South Sea in 1593, throws out the ſame jingling diſtich on the loſs of his pinnace." But no account of that voyage was publiſhed before 1598.

In the laſt Act of this play the young king thus addreſſes his brothers:

" Brothers, you mix your ſadneſs with ſome fear.
" This is the Engliſh, not the Turkiſh court;
" Not Amurath an Amurath ſucceeds,
" But Harry Harry."

It is highly probable, as is obſerved in a note on that paſſage, that Shakſpeare had here in contemplation the cruelty practiſed by the Turkiſh emperor, Mahomet, who after the death of his father, Amurath the Third, in Feb. 1596,[1] invited his un-

[1] The affairs of this court had previouſly attracted the publick

ſuſpecting brothers to a feaſt, and cauſed them all to be ſtrangled.

16. The Merchant of Venice, 1598.

Entered at the Stationers' Hall, July 22, 1598; and mentioned by Meres in that year. Publiſhed in 1600.

17. All's Well that Ends Well, 1598.

All's well that ends well was not regiſtered at Stationers' Hall, nor printed till 1623; but has been thought to be the play mentioned by Meres in 1598, under the title of *Love's Labour's Won*. No other of our author's plays could have borne that title with ſo much propriety as that before us; yet it muſt be acknowledged that the preſent title is inſerted in the body of the play:

"*All's well that ends well*; ſtill the fine's the crown," &c.

This line, however, might certainly have ſuggeſted the alteration of what has been thought the firſt title, and affords no deciſive proof that this piece was originally called *All's well that ends well*. The words that compoſe the preſent title appear to have been proverbial.[2]

I formerly ſuppoſed that a comedy called *A bad*

[1] ... letter in 1594 was publiſhed at London, *A Letter ſent by Amurath the great Turke to Chriſtendom*.

[2] See *The Remidie of Love*, tranſlated from Ovid, 1600, ſign. E. 3. b: "You take the old proverb with a right application for my juſt excuſe: *All is well that ends well*; and ſo end I." See alſo Camden's Proverbial Sentences, *Remains*, 1614.

Beginning makes a good Ending, which was acted at court in 1613, by the Company of John Heminge, was the play now under conſideration, with only a new title: but I was miſtaken. The play then exhibited was written by John Ford.

In *All's well that ends well*, "The ſhowing of a heavenly effect in an earthly actor," is mentioned. If this ſhould prove to be the title of ſome tract, (which is not improbable,) and the piece ſhould be hereafter diſcovered, it may ſerve in ſome meaſure to aſcertain the date of the play.

This comedy alſo contains an alluſion to the diſpute between the Puritans and Proteſtants concerning the uſe of the ſurplice. That diſpute began in 1589; and was much agitated during all the remainder of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

> "Plutus himſelf," (ſays one of the characters in this play,)
> "That knows the tinct and multiplying medicine," &c.

I know not whether the purſuit of the philoſopher's ſtone particularly engaged the publick attention at the period to which this comedy has been aſcribed; and quote the paſſage only for the conſideration of thoſe who are more converſant with that ſubject.

18. King Henry V. 1599.

Mr. Pope thought that this hiſtorical drama was one of our author's lateſt compoſitions; but he was evidently miſtaken. *King Henry V.* was entered on the Stationers' books, Aug. 14, 1600. and printed in the ſame year. It was written *after* the Second Part of *King Henry IV.* being promiſed in the epilogue of that play; and while the Earl of Eſſex

was in Ireland.[3] Lord Eſſex went to Ireland April 15, 1599, and returned to London on the 28th of September in the ſame year. So that this play (unleſs the paſſage relative to him was inſerted after the piece was finiſhed) muſt have been compoſed between April and September, 1599. Suppoſing that paſſage a ſubſequent inſertion, the play was probably not written *long* before; for it is not mentioned by Meres in 1598.

The prologue to Ben Jonſon's *Every Man in his Humour*[4] ſeems clearly to allude to this play; and, if it had been written at the ſame time with the piece itſelf, might induce us, notwithſtanding the ſilence of Meres, to place *King Henry V.* a year or two earlier; for *Every Man in his Humour* is ſaid to have been acted in 1598. But the prologue which now appears before it, was not written till after 1601, when the play was printed without a prologue. It appears to have been Jonſon's firſt performance;[5] and we may preſume that it was the very play, which, we are told, was brought on the ſtage by the good offices of Shakſpeare, who himſelf acted in it. Malignant and envious as Jonſon appears to have been, he hardly would have ridiculed his benefactor at the very time he was ſo eſſentially obliged to him. Some years afterwards his jealouſy broke out, and vented itſelf

[3] See the Chorus to the fifth Act of *King Henry V.*

[4] "He rather prays, you will be pleaſed to ſee
"One ſuch, to day, as other plays ſhould be;
"*Where neither Chorus wafts you o'er the ſeas,*" &c.
Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour.* Fol. 1616.

[5] Jonſon himſelf tells us in his Induction to *The Magnetick Lady*, that this was his firſt dramatick performance—"The author beginning his ſtudies of this kind with *Every Man in his Humour.*"

in this prologue, which firſt appeared in the folio edition of Jonſon's Works, publiſhed in 1616. It is certain that, not long after the year 1600, a coolneſs [6] aroſe between Shakſpeare and him, which, however he may talk of his almoſt idolatrous affection, produced on his part, from that time to the death of our author, and for many years afterwards, much clumſy ſarcaſm, and many malevolent reflections.[7]

[6] See an old comedy called *The Return from Parnaſſus*: [This piece was not publiſhed till 1606; but appears to have been written in 1602,—certainly was produced before the death of Queen Elizabeth, which happened on the 24th of March, 1602-3.] "Why here's our fellow Shakſpeare puts them all down; ay and *Ben Jonſon* too. O, that Ben Jonſon is a peſtilent fellow; he brought up Horace giving the poets a pill, but our fellow Shakſpeare hath given him a purge that made him bewray his credit."

The play of Jonſon's in which *he gave the poets a pill*, is the *Poetaſter*, acted in 1601. In that piece ſome paſſages of *King Henry V.* are ridiculed. In what manner Shakſpeare *put him down, or made him bewray his credit*, does not appear. His retaliation, we may be well aſſured, contained no groſs or illiberal abuſe; and, perhaps, did not go beyond a ballad or an epigram, which may have periſhed with things of greater conſequence. He has, however, marked his diſregard for the calumniator of his fame, by not leaving him any memorial by his Will. —In an apologetical dialogue which Jonſon annexed to the *Poetaſter*, he ſays, he had been provoked for three years (i. e. from 1598 to 1601) on every ſtage by ſlanderers; as for the players, he ſays,

"————It is true, I tax'd them,
"And yet but ſome, and thoſe ſo ſparingly,
"As all the reſt might have ſat ſtill unqueſtion'd:—
"————What they have done againſt me
"I am not mov'd with. If it gave them meat,
"Or got them cloaths, 'tis well; that was their end.
"Only, amongſt them, I am ſorry for
"Some better natures, by the reſt drawn in
"To run in that vile line."

By the words "*Some better natures*," there can, I think, be little doubt that Shakſpeare was alluded to.

On this play, Mr. Pope has the following note, Act I. sc. i:

7 In his *Silent Woman*, 1609, Act V. sc. ii. Jonson perhaps pointed at Shakspeare, as one whom he *viewed with scornful, yet with jealous, eyes:*

"So they may censure poets and authors, and compare them; Daniel with Spenser, Jonson with *t'other youth*, and so forth." Decker, however, might have been meant.

Again, in the same play:

"You two shall be the *chorus* behind the arras, and whip out between the acts, and speak."

In the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, which was acted in 1614, two years before the death of our author, three of his plays, and in the piece itself two others, are attempted to be ridiculed.

In *The Devil's an Ass*, acted in 1616, all his historical plays are obliquely censured.

"*Meer-er*. By my faith you are cunning in the chronicles.

"*Fitz-dot*. No, I confess, I ha't from the play-books, and think they are more authentick."

They are again attacked in the Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*:

"An some writer that I know, had but the penning o'this matter, he would ha' made you such a *fig-a-jog i' the booths*, you should ha' thought an *earthquake* had been in the fair. But these *master-poets*, they will ha' their own absurd courses, they will be informed of nothing."

The following passage in *Cynthia's Revels*, 1601, was, I think, likewise pointed against Shakspeare:

"Besides, they would wish our poets would leave to be promoters of other men's jests, and to way-lay all the stale apothegms or *old books* they can hear of in print or otherwise, to farce their scenes withal:—Again, that feeding their friends with nothing of their own, but what they have *twice* or *thrice cooked*, they should not wantonly give out how soon they had *dress'd it*, nor how many coaches came to carry away the broken meat, besides hobby-horses and foot-cloth nags."

Jonson's plots were all his own invention; our author's chiefly taken from preceding plays or novels. The former employed a year or two in composing a play; the latter probably produced two every year, while he remained in the theatre.

The Induction to *The Staple of News*, which appeared in 1625, not very long after the publication of our author's plays in folio, contains a sneer at a passage in *Julius Cæsar*:

" This firſt ſcene was added ſince the edition of 1608, which is much ſhort of the preſent editions,

" Know, Cæſar doth not wrong; nor without cauſe
" Will he be ſatisfied."

which for the purpoſe of ridicule is quoted unfaithfully; and in the ſame play may be found an effort, as impotent as that of Voltaire,* to raiſe a laugh at Hamlet's exclamation when he kills Polonius.

Some other paſſages which are found in Jonſon's works, might be mentioned in ſupport of this obſervation, but being quoted hereafter for other purpoſes, they are here omitted

Notwithſtanding theſe proofs, Jonſon's malevolence to Shakſpeare, and jealouſy of his ſuperior reputation, have been doubted by Mr. Pope and others: and much ſtreſs has been laid on a paſſage in his *Diſcoveries*, and on the commendatory verſes prefixed to the firſt edition of our author's plays in folio.—The reader, after having peruſed the following character of Jonſon, drawn by Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, a contemporary, and an intimate acquaintance of his, will not, perhaps, readily believe theſe *poſthumous* encomiums to have been ſincere. " Ben Jonſon," ſays that writer, " was a great lover and praiſer of himſelf; a contemner and ſcorner of others; given rather to loſe a friend than a jeſt; jealous of every word and action of thoſe about him, eſpecially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he lived; a diſſembler of the parts which reign in him; a bragger of ſome good that he wanted; thinketh nothing well done, but what either he himſelf or ſome of his friends have ſaid or done; he is paſſionately kind and angry; careleſs either to gain or keep; vindictive, but, if he be well anſwered, [angry] at himſelf; interprets beſt ſayings and deeds often to the worſt.† He was for any religion, as being verſed in both; oppreſſed with fancy, which over-maſtered his reaſon, a general diſeaſe in many poets. His inventions are ſmooth and eaſy, but above all, he excelleth in tranſlation." *Drummond's Works*, fol. 1711, p. 220.

In the year 1619 Jonſon went to Scotland, to viſit Mr. Drum-

* " Ah! ma mere, s'écrie-t-il, il y a un gros rat derrière la tapiſſerie;—il tire ſon épée, court au rat, et tue le bon homme Polonius." Oeuvres de Voltaire, Tome XV. p. 473, 4to.

† His miſquoting a line of *Julius Cæſar*, ſo as to render it nonſenſe, at a time when the play was in print, is a ſtrong illuſtration of this part of his character. The plea of an unfaithful memory cannot be urged in his defence, for he tells us in his *Diſcoveries*, that till he was paſt forty, he could repeat every thing that he had written.

wherein the ſpeeches are generally enlarged, and raiſed; ſeveral whole ſcenes beſides, and the choruſes alſo, were ſince *added by Shakſpeare.*"

Dr. Warburton alſo poſitively aſſerts, that this firſt ſcene was written after the acceſſion of King James I.; and the ſubſequent editors agree, that ſeveral additions were made *by the author* to *King Henry V.* after it was originally compoſed. But there is, I believe no good ground for theſe aſſertions. It is true, that no perfect edition of this play was publiſhed before that in folio, in 1623; but it does not follow from thence, that the ſcenes which then firſt appeared in print, and all the choruſes, were added *by Shakſpeare*, as Mr. Pope ſuppoſes, after 1608. We know, indeed, the contrary to be true; for the Chorus to the fifth Act muſt have been written in 1599.

The fair inference to be drawn from the imperfect and mutilated copies of this play, publiſhed in 1600, 1602, and 1608, is, not that the whole play, as we now have it, did not then exiſt, but that thoſe copies were ſurreptitious; and that the editor in 1600, not being able to publiſh the whole, publiſhed what he could.

I have not, indeed, met with any evidence (except in three plays) that the ſeveral ſcenes which are found in the folio of 1623, and are not in the preceding quartos, were added by the ſecond labour of the author.—The laſt chorus of *King Henry V.* already mentioned, affords a ſtriking proof that this was not always the caſe. The two copies of *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* printed in the ſame year, (1600,) furniſh another. In one of

mond, who has left a curious account of a converſation that paſſed between them, relative to the principal poets of thoſe times.

theſe, the whole firſt ſcene of Act III. is wanting; not becauſe it was then unwritten, (for it is found in the other copy publiſhed in that year,) but becauſe the editor was not poſſeſſed of it. That what have been called *additions by the author*, were not really ſuch, may be alſo collected from another circumſtance; that in ſome of the quartos where theſe ſuppoſed additions are wanting, references and replies are found to the paſſages omitted.[8]

I do not, however, mean to ſay, that Shakſpeare never made any alterations in his plays. We have reaſon to believe that *Romeo and Juliet*, *Hamlet*, and *The Merry Wives of Windſor*, were reviſed and augmented by the author; and a ſecond reviſal or temporary topicks might have ſuggeſted, in a courſe of years, ſome additions and alterations in ſome other of his pieces. But with reſpect to the entire ſcenes that are wanting in ſome of the early editions, (particularly thoſe of *King Henry V.* *King Richard II.* and *The Second Part of King Henry IV.*) I ſuppoſe the omiſſions to have ariſen from the imperfection of the copies; and inſtead of ſaying that "the firſt ſcene of *King Henry V.* was *added by the author* after the publication of the quarto in 1600," all that we can pronounce with certainty is, that this ſcene is not *found* in the quarto of 1600.

[8] Of this ſee a remarkable inſtance in *King Henry IV.* P. II. Act I. ſc. i. where Morton in a long ſpeech having informed Northumberland that the Archbiſhop of York had joined the rebel party, the Earl replies,—"*I knew of this before.*" The quarto contains the reply, but not a ſingle line of the narrative to which it relates.

19. Much Ado about Nothing, 1600.

Much Ado about Nothing was written, we may preſume, early in the year 1600; for it was entered at Stationers' Hall, Auguſt 23, 1600, and printed in that year.

It is not mentioned by Meres in his liſt of our author's plays, publiſhed in the latter end of the year 1598.

20. As You Like It, 1600.

This comedy was not printed till 1623, and the caveat or memorandum[9] in the ſecond volume of the books of the Stationers' Company, relative to the three plays of *As you like it*, *Henry V.* and *Much Ado about Nothing*, has no date except *Aug.* 4. But immediately *above* that caveat there is an entry, dated May 27, 1600,—and the entry immediately *following* it, is dated Jan. 23, 1603. We may therefore preſume that this caveat was entered *between* thoſe two periods; more eſpecially, as the dates ſcattered over the pages where this entry is found, are, except in one inſtance, in a regular ſeries from 1596 to 1615. This will appear more clearly by exhibiting the entry exactly as it ſtands in the book:

27 May, 1600.

To Mr. Roberts.] Allarum to London.

[9] See Mr. Steevens's extracts from the books of the Stationers' Company, *ante*, p. 123.

4 Aug.

As you like it, a book.
Henry the Fift, a book.
Every Man in his Humour, a book.
Comedy of Much Ado about Nothing.
} to be ſtaied.

23 Jan. 1603.

To Thomas Thorpe, and William Aſpley. } This to be their copy, &c.

It is extremely probable that this 4th of Auguſt was of the year 1600; which ſtanding a little higher on the paper, the clerk of the Stationers' Company might have thought unneceſſary to be repeated. All the plays which were entered with *As you like it*, and are here ſaid *to be ſtaied*, were printed in the year 1600 or 1601. The ſtay or injunction againſt the printing appears to have been very ſpeedily taken off; for in ten days afterwards, on the 14th of Auguſt, 1600, *King Henry V.* was entered, and publiſhed in the ſame year. So, *Much Ado about Nothing* was entered Auguſt 23, 1600, and printed alſo in that year: and *Every Man in his Humour* was publiſhed in 1601.

Shakſpeare, it is ſaid, played the part of Adam in *As you like it*. As he was not eminent on the ſtage, it is probable that he ceaſed to act ſome years before he retired to the country. His appearance, however, in this comedy, is not inconſiſtent with the date here aſſigned; for we know that he performed a part in Jonſon's *Sejanus* in 1603.

A paſſage in this comedy furniſhes an additional proof of its not having been written before the year

1596, nor after the year 1603. "I will weep for nothing," ſays Roſalind, "like *Diana in the fountain*." Stowe, in his *Survey of London*, 1598, informs us, that in the year 1598, at the eaſt ſide of the Croſs in Cheapſide was ſet up "a curious wrought tabernacle of gray marble, and in the ſame an alabaſter image of *Diana*, and water conveyed from the Thames, prilling from her naked breaſt." To this the paſſage above cited certainly alludes. In his ſecond edition of the ſame work, printed in 1603, he informs the reader, that the water flowed in this manner *for a time*, but that the ſtatue was then *decayed*. It was, we ſee, in order in 1598, and continued ſo without doubt for two years afterwards, that is, till 1600, when *As you like it* appears to have been written.

In this comedy a line of Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* is quoted. That poem was publiſhed in 1598, and probably before.

21. Merry Wives of Windsor, 1601.

The following line in the earlieſt edition of this comedy,

"Sail like my pinnace to thoſe *golden ſhores*,"

ſhows that it was written after Sir Walter Raleigh's return from Guiana in 1596.

The firſt ſketch of *The Merry Wives of Windſor* was printed in 1602. It was entered in the books of the Stationers' Company, on the 18th of January, 1601-2, and was therefore probably written in 1601, after the *two parts of King Henry IV.* being, it is ſaid, compoſed at the deſire of Queen Elizabeth, in order to exhibit Falſtaff in love, when all the

pleaſantry which he could afford in any other ſituation was exhauſted. But it may not be thought ſo clear, that it was written after *King Henry V.* Nym and Bardolph are both hanged in *K. Henry V.* yet appear in *The Merry Wives of Windſor.* Falſtaff is diſgraced in *The Second Part of K. Henry IV.* and dies in *King Henry V.*; but in *The Merry Wives of Windſor* he talks as if he were yet in favour at court;[1] "*If it ſhould come to the ear of the court how I have been transformed,*" &c.: and Mr. Page diſcountenances Fenton's addreſſes to his daughter, *becauſe he kept company with the wild Prince and with Pointz.* Theſe circumſtances ſeem to favour the ſuppoſition that this play was written between the *Firſt and Second Parts of K. Henry IV.* But that it was not written then, may be collected from the tradition above mentioned. The truth, I believe, is, that though it ought to be read (as Dr. Johnſon has obſerved) between *The Second Part of King Henry IV.* and *King Henry V.* it was written *after King Henry V.* and after Shakſpeare had killed Falſtaff. In obedience to the royal commands, having revived him, he found it neceſſary at the ſame time to revive all thoſe perſons with whom he was wont to be exhibited; Nym, Piſtol, Bardolph, and the Page: and diſpoſed of them as he found it convenient, without a ſtrict regard to their ſituations, or cataſtrophes in former plays.

There is reaſon to believe that *The Merry Wives of Windſor* was reviſed and enlarged by the author, after its firſt production. The old edition in 1602, like that of *Romeo and Juliet*, is apparently a rough draught, and not a mutilated or imperfect copy.

[1] "Well, *an the fine wits of the Court hearo this they'll ſo whip me*" &c. 4°. 1602.

The preciſe time when the alterations and additions were made, has not been aſcertained: however, ſome paſſages in the enlarged copy may aſſiſt us in our conjectures on the ſubject.

Falſtaff's addreſs to Juſtice Shallow in the firſt ſcene ſhows that the alterations were made after King James came to the throne: "Now, Maſter Shallow, you'll complain of me to the *king*." In the firſt copy the words are, "*to the council*."

When Mrs. Page obſerves to Mrs. Ford, that "theſe knights will hack," which words are not in the original copy, Shakſpeare, it has been thought, meant to convey a covert ſneer at King James's prodigality in beſtowing knighthood in the beginning of his reign. Between the king's arrival at Berwick and the 2d of May, 1603, he made 237 knights; and in the following July near four hundred.

"The beſt courtier of them all," ſays Mrs. Quickly, "when *the court lay at Windſor*, could never have brought her to ſuch a canary. Yet there have been knights, and lords, and gentlemen, with their coaches, I warrant you, coach after coach," &c.

The court went to Windſor in the beginning of July, 1603, and ſoon afterwards the feaſt of Saint George was celebrated there with great ſolemnity. The Prince of Wales, the Duke of Lenox, our poet's great patron the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Marre, were inſtalled knights of the garter; and the chief ladies of England did homage to the queen. The king and queen afterwards uſually reſided in the ſummer at Greenwich. The alluſion to the inſignia of the order of the garter in the fifth Act of this comedy, if written recently after ſo ſplendid a ſolemnity,

would have a peculiar grace; yet the order having been originally inſtituted at Windſor by King Edward III. the place in which the ſcene lay, might, it muſt be owned, have ſuggeſted an alluſion to it, without any particular or temporary object.—It is obſervable that Mrs. Quickly ſays, there had been knights, lords, and gentlemen, with their coaches, *coach after coach*, &c. Coaches, as appears from Howes's Continuation of Stowe's *Chronicle*, did not come into general uſe, till the year 1605. It may therefore be preſumed, that this play was not enlarged very long before that year.

There is yet another note of time to be conſidered. In the firſt ſcene of the enlarged copy of *The Merry Wives of Windſor*, Slender aſks Mr. Page, "How does your fallow greyhound, ſir? I hear he was outrun on Cotſale." He means the Cotſwold hills in Gloceſterſhire. In the beginning of the reign of James the Firſt, the Cotſwold games were inſtituted by one Dover. They conſiſted, as Mr. Warton has obſerved of "wreſtling, leaping, pitching the bar, handling the pike, dancing of women, various kinds of hunting, and particularly courſing the hare with greyhounds." Mr. Warton is of opinion, that two or three years muſt have elapſed before theſe games could have been effectually eſtabliſhed, and therefore ſuppoſes that our author's additions to this comedy were made about the year 1607. Dr. Farmer doubts whether Capt. Dover was the founder of theſe games. "Though the Captain," he obſerves, "be celebrated in the *Annalia Dubrenſia* as the *founder* of them, he might be the *reviver* only, or ſome way contribute to make them more famous; for in the ſecond part of *King Henry IV.* Juſtice

Shallow reckons among the *ſwinge-bucklers*, "Will Squeele, a *Cotſole* man." In confirmation of Dr. Farmer's opinion Mr. Steevens remarks, that in Randolph's poems, 1638, is found "An eclogue on the noble aſſemblies *revived* on Cotſwold hills by Mr. Robert Dover."

If the Cotſwold games were celebrated before the death of Queen Elizabeth, the paſſage above cited certainly proves nothing. Let us then endeavour to aſcertain that fact. Dover himſelf tells us in the *Annalia Dubrenſia* that he was the *founder* of theſe games:

> "Yet I was bold for better recreation
> "To *invent* theſe ſports, to counter-check that faſhion."

and from Ben Jonſon's verſes in the ſame collection we learn that they were exhibited in the time of James I. and revived in 1636. Nothing more then follows from Randolph's verſes, compared with Jonſon's, than that the games had been diſcontinued after their firſt inſtitution by Dover, (probably ſoon after the death of King James,) and were *revived* by their *founder* at a ſubſequent period. Cotſwold, long before the death of Elizabeth, might have been famous for ſwinge bucklers, or in other words for ſtrong men, ſkilled in fighting with ſword and buckler, wreſtling, and other athletick exerciſes: but there is no ground for ſuppoſing that courſing with greyhounds, in order to obtain the prize of a ſilver collar, was cuſtomary there, till Dover inſtituted thoſe prizes after the acceſſion of James to the throne.

That they were inſtituted about the year 1603, when King James acceded to the Engliſh throne, may be collected from the account given of them by Wood, in his *Athen. Oxon.* Vol. II. p. 812:

"The ſaid games were *begun*, and continued at a certain time of the year, for 40 years, by one Robert Dover, an attorney of Burton on the heath in Warwickſhire; who did, *with leave from King James I.* ſelect a place on Cotſwold-hills in Glocesterſhire, whereon thoſe games ſhould be acted. Dover was conſtantly there in perſon, well mounted and accoutred, and was the chief director and manager of thoſe games, even till the raſcally rebellion was begun by the Preſbyterians, which gave a ſtop to their proceedings, and ſpoiled all that was generous and ingenious elſewhere."

This comedy was not printed in its preſent ſtate till 1623, when it was publiſhed with the reſt of our author's plays in folio. The republication of the imperfect copy in 1619 has been mentioned as a circumſtance from which we may infer that Shakſpeare's improved play was not written, or at leaſt not acted, till ſome years after 1607. I confeſs, I do not perceive, on what ground this inference is made. Arthur Johnſon, the bookſeller for whom the imperfect copy of this play was publiſhed in 1602, when the whole edition was ſold off, reprinted it in 1619, knowing that the enlarged copy remained in MS. in the hands of the proprietors of the Globe theatre, and that ſuch of the publick as wiſhed to read the play in any form, muſt read the imperfect play, of which he had ſecured the property by entering it at Stationers' Hall. In the ſame manner Thomas Pavier in 1619 reprinted the firſt and ſecond parts of *The whole Contention of the Two Houſes of Yorke and Lancaſter*, though he could not but know that the *Second and Third Parts of King Henry VI.* which were formed on thoſe pieces, and were much more valuable than them, had been frequently acted, an-

tecedent to his republication, and that the original plays had long been withdrawn from the ſcene. Not being able to procure the improved and perfect copies, a needy bookſeller would publiſh what he could.

22. King Henry VIII. 1601.

This play was probably written, as Dr. Johnſon and Mr. Steevens obſerve, before the death of Queen Elizabeth, which happened on the 24th of March, 1602-3. The elogium on King James, which is blended with the panegyrick on Elizabeth, in the laſt ſcene, was evidently a ſubſequent inſertion, after the acceſſion of the Scottiſh monarch to the throne: for Shakſpeare was too well acquainted with courts, to compliment in the lifetime of Queen Elizabeth, her preſumptive ſucceſſor, of whom hiſtory informs us ſhe was not a little jealous. That the prediction concerning King James was added after the death of the Queen, is ſtill more clearly evinced, as Dr. Johnſon has remarked, by the aukward manner in which it is connected with the foregoing and ſubſequent lines.

The following lines in that prediction may ſerve to aſcertain the time when the compliment was introduced:

> "Wherever the bright ſun of heaven ſhall ſhine,
> "His honour and the greatneſs of his name
> "Shall be, and make new nations."

Though Virginia was diſcovered in 1584, the firſt colony ſent out went there in 1606. In that year the king granted two letters patent for planting that country, one to the city of London, the

other to the cities of Briſtol, Exeter, and Plymouth. The colony ſent from London ſettled in Virginia; that from the other cities in New England; the capital of which was built in the following year, and called *James-town*. In 1606 alſo a ſcheme was adopted for the plantation of Ulſter in Ireland.[a] I ſuſpect, therefore, that the panegyrick on the king was introduced either in that year, or in 1612, when a lottery was granted expreſsly for the eſtabliſhment of Engliſh Colonies in Virginia.

It may be objected, that if this play was written after the acceſſion of King James, the author could not introduce a panegyrick on him, without making Queen Elizabeth the vehicle of it, ſhe being the object immediately preſented to the audience in the laſt Act of *King Henry VIII.*; and that, therefore, the praiſes ſo profuſely laviſhed on her, do *not* prove this play to have been written in her life-time; on the contrary, that the concluding lines of her character ſeem to imply that ſhe was dead, when it was compoſed. The objection certainly has weight; but, I apprehend, the following obſervations afford a ſufficient anſwer to it.

1. It is more likely that Shakſpeare ſhould have written a play, the chief ſubject of which is, the diſgrace of Queen Catharine, the aggrandizement of Anne Boleyn, and the birth of her daughter, in the life-time of that daughter, than after her death: at a time when the ſubject muſt have been highly pleaſing at court, rather than at a period when it muſt have been leſs intereſting.

Queen Catharine, it is true, is repreſented as an amiable character, but ſtill ſhe is *eclipſed*; and the greater her merit, the higher was the compliment

[a] Bacon's Works, Vol. IV. p. 440.

to the mother of Elizabeth, to whoſe ſuperior beauty ſhe was obliged to give way.

2. If *King Henry VIII.* had been written in the time of King James I. the author, inſtead of expatiating ſo largely in the laſt ſcene, in praiſe of the Queen, which he could not think would be acceptable to her ſucceſſor, who hated her memory,[3] would probably have made him the principal figure in the propheſy, and thrown her into the back-ground as much as poſſible.

3. Were James I. Shakſpeare's chief object in the original conſtruction of the laſt Act of this play, he would probably have given a very ſhort character of Elizabeth, and have *dwelt* on that of James, with whoſe praiſe he would have *concluded*, in order to make the ſtronger impreſſion on the audience, inſtead of returning again to Queen Elizabeth, in a very aukward and abrupt manner, after her character ſeemed to be quite finiſhed: an aukwardneſs that can only be accounted for, by ſuppoſing the panegyrick on King James an after-production.[4]

[3] King James on his acceſſion to the throne ſtudiouſly marked his diſregard for Elizabeth by the favour which he ſhowed to Lord Southampton, and to every other perſon who had been diſgraced by her. Of this Shakſpeare could not be ignorant.

[4] After having enumerated ſome of the bleſſings which were to enſue from the birth of Elizabeth, and celebrated her majeſty's various virtues, the poet thus proceeds:

" *Cran.* In *her* days every man ſhall eat in ſafety
" Under his own vine, what he plants, and ſing
" The merry ſongs of peace to all his neighbours.
" God ſhall be truly known; and thoſe about her
" From her ſhall read the perfect ways of honour,
" And by thoſe claim their greatneſs, not by blood.
" Nor ſhall this peace *ſleep* with her; but as when
" The bird of wonder *dies*, the maiden phœnix,
" Her aſhes new-create another heir,

4. If the Queen had been dead when our author wrote this play, he would have been acquainted with the particular circumſtances attending her death, the ſituation of the kingdom at that time, and of foreign ſtates, &c. and as Archbiſhop Cranmer is ſuppoſed to have had the gift of prophecy, Shakſpeare, probably, would have made him mention ſome of thoſe circumſtances. Whereas the prediction, as it ſtands at preſent, is quite general, and ſuch as might, without any hazard of error, have been pronounced in the life-time of her majeſty; for the principal facts that it foretells, are, that ſhe ſhould die aged, and a virgin. Of the former, ſuppoſing this piece to have been written in 1601, the author was ſufficiently ſecure; for ſhe was then near ſeventy years old. The latter may perhaps be thought too delicate a ſubject, to have been mentioned while ſhe was yet living. But we may preſume, it was far from being an ungrateful topick; for very early after her acceſſion to the throne, ſhe appears to have been proud of her maiden character; declaring that ſhe was *wedded* to her people, and that ſhe deſired no other inſcrip-

" As great in admiration as herſelf;
" So ſhall ſhe leave her bleſſedneſs to one, &c.
" ——————— *He* ſhall flouriſh,
" And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches
" To all the plains about him:—our children's children
" Shall ſee this, and bleſs heaven.
" *King.* Thou ſpeakeſt wonders.]
" *Cran.* *She* ſhall be, to the happineſs of England,
" An aged princeſs; many days ſhall ſee her,
" And yet no day without a deed to crown it.
" Would I had known no more! but ſhe muſt *die*,
" She muſt, the ſaints muſt have her; yet a virgin," &c.

The lines between crotchets are thoſe ſuppoſed to have been inſerted by the author after the acceſſion of King James.

tion on her tomb, than—*Here lyeth Elizabeth, who reigned and died a* virgin.[5] Beſides, if Shakſpeare knew, as probably moſt people at that time did, that ſhe became very ſolicitous about the reputation of virginity, when her title to it was at leaſt equivocal, this would be an additional inducement to him to compliment her on that head.

5. Granting that the *latter part* of the panegyrick on Elizabeth implies that ſhe was dead when it was compoſed, it would not prove that this play was written in the time of King James; for *theſe latter lines* in praiſe of the Queen, as well as the whole of the compliment to the King, might have been added after his acceſſion to the throne, in order to bring the ſpeaker back to the object immediately before him, the infant Elizabeth. And this Mr. Theobald conjectured to have been the caſe. I do not, however, ſee any *neceſsity* for this ſuppoſition; as there is nothing, in my apprehenſion, contained in *any* of the lines in praiſe of the Queen, inconſiſtent with the notion of the *whole* of the panegyrick on her having been compoſed in her life-time.

In further confirmation of what has been here advanced to ſhow that this play was probably written while Queen Elizabeth was yet alive, it may be obſerved, (to uſe the words of an anonymous writer,[6]) that "Shakſpeare has caſt the diſagreeable parts of her *father's* character as much into ſhade as poſſible; that he has repreſented him as greatly diſpleaſed with the grievances of his ſubjects, and ordering them to be relieved; tender

[5] Camden, 27. Melvil, 49.

[6] The author of *Shakſpeare Illuſtrated*, [Mrs. Lennox.]

and obliging [in the early part of the play] to his queen, grateful to the cardinal, and in the caſe of Cranmer, capable of diſtinguiſhing and rewarding true merit."—" He has exerted (adds the ſame author) an equal degree of complaiſance, by the amiable lights in which he has ſhown the *mother* of Elizabeth. Anne Bullen is repreſented as affected with the moſt tender concern for the ſufferings of her miſtreſs, queen Catharine; receiving the honour the king confers on her, by making her marchioneſs of Pembroke, with a graceful humility; and more anxious to conceal her advancement from the queen, leſt it ſhould aggravate her ſorrows, than ſolicitous to penetrate into the meaning of ſo extraordinary a favour, or of indulging herſelf in the flattering proſpect of future royalty."

It is unneceſſary to quote particular paſſages in ſupport of theſe aſſertions; but the following lines, which are ſpoken of Anne Boleyn by the Lord Chamberlain, appear to me ſo evidently calculated for the ear of Elizabeth, (to whom ſuch incenſe was by no means diſpleaſing,) that I cannot forbear to tranſcribe them:

" She is a gallant creature, and complete
" In mind and feature. I perſuade me, *from her*
" *Will fall ſome bleſſing to this land, which ſhall*
" *In it be memoriz'd.*"

Again:

" ——— I have perus'd her well;
" Beauty and honour are in her ſo mingled,
" That they have caught the king: *and who knows yet,*
" *But from this lady may proceed a gem,*
" *To lighten all this iſle.*"

Our author had produced ſo many plays in the preceding years, that it is not likely that *King*

Henry VIII. was written *before* 1601. It might perhaps with equal propriety be aſcribed to 1602, and it is not eaſy to determine in which of thoſe years it was compoſed; but it is extremely probable that it was written in one of them. It was not printed till 1623.

A poem, called *The Life and Death of Thomas Wolſey, Cardinal*, which was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, and publiſhed, in the year 1599, perhaps ſuggeſted this ſubject to Shakſpeare.

He had alſo certainly read Churchyard's *Legend of Cardinal Wolſey*, printed in *The Mirrour for Magiſtrates*, 1587.

"Have we ſome ſtrange Indian with the great tool come to court, the women ſo beſiege us," ſays the Porter in the laſt Act of this play. This note of time may perhaps hereafter ſerve to aſcertain the date of this piece, though I cannot avail myſelf of it, not having been able to diſcover to what circumſtance Shakſpeare here alludes.

A play, entitled *The Life and Death of Lord Cromwell*, was publiſhed at London in 1602. In the title-page it is ſaid to be written by W. S.; letters which undoubtedly were inſerted to deceive the reader, and to induce him to ſuppoſe that the piece was written by Shakſpeare, as a kind of ſequel to his *Henry VIII.* This circumſtance may ſerve in ſome meaſure to confirm my conjecture that *King Henry VIII.* had been exhibited in the preceding year. Rowley's *King Henry VIII.* was publiſhed in 1605, probably with a view that it alſo might be confounded with Shakſpeare's drama; and both *it* and *Lord Cromwell* were re-printed with the ſame fraudulent intention in 1613, in which year our author's play was revived with great ſplendour.

The Globe play-houſe, we are told by the continuator of Stowe's Chronicle, was burnt down, on St. Peter's day, in the year 1613, while the play of *K. Henry VIII.* was exhibiting. Sir Henry Wotton, (as Mr. Tyrwhitt has obſerved,) ſays in one of his letters, that this accident happened during the exhibition of a *new* play, called *All is True*; which, however, appears both from Sir Henry's minute deſcription of the piece, and from the account given by Stowe's continuator, to have been our author's play of *King Henry VIII.* If indeed Sir H. Wotton was accurate in calling it a *new* play, all the foregoing reaſoning on this ſubject would be at once overthrown; and this piece inſtead of being aſcribed to 1601, ſhould have been placed twelve years later. But I ſtrongly ſuſpect that the only novelty attending this play, in the year 1613, was its title, decorations, and perhaps the prologue and epilogue. The Elector Palatine was in London in that year; and it appears from the MS. regiſter of Lord Harrington, treaſurer of the chambers to King James I. that many of our author's plays were then exhibited for the entertainment of him and the princeſs Elizabeth. By the ſame regiſter we learn, that the titles of many of them were changed [7] in that year. Princes are fond of opportunities to diſplay their magnificence before ſtrangers of diſtinction; and James, who on his arrival here muſt have been dazzled by a ſplendour foreign to the poverty of his native kingdom, might have been peculiarly ambitious

[7] Thus, *Henry IV.* P. I. was called *Hotſpur*; *Henry IV.* P. II. or *The Merry Wives of Windſor*, was exhibited under the name of *Sir John Falſtaff*; *Much Ado about Nothing* was new-named *Benedick and Beatrix*; and *Julius Cæſar* ſeems to have been repreſented under the title of *Cæſar's Tragedy*.

to exhibit before his ſon-in-law the mimick pomp of an Engliſh coronation.[8] *King Henry VIII.* therefore, after having lain by for ſome years unacted, on account of the coſtlineſs of the exhibition, might have been revived in 1613, under the title of *All is True*, with new decorations, and a new prologue and epilogue. Mr. Tyrwhitt obſerves, that the prologue has two or three direct references to this title; a circumſtance which authorizes us to conclude, almoſt with certainty, that it was an occaſional production, written ſome years after the compoſition of the play. *King Henry VIII.* not being then printed, the fallacy of calling it a new play on its revival was not eaſily detected.

Dr. Johnſon long ſince ſuſpected, from the contemptuous manner in which "*the noiſe of targets*, and *the fellow in a long motley coat*," or in other words, moſt of our author's plays, are ſpoken of, in this prologue, that it was not the compoſition of Shakſpeare, but written after his departure from the ſtage, on ſome accidental revival of *King Henry VIII.* by Ben Jonſon, whoſe ſtyle, it ſeemed to him to reſemble.[9] Dr. Farmer is of

[8] The Prince Palatine was not preſent at the repreſentation of *King Henry VIII.* on the 30th of June O. S. when the Globe playhouſe was burnt down, having left England ſome time before. But the play might have been revived for his entertainment in the beginning of the year 1613; and might have been occaſionally repreſented afterwards.

[9] In ſupport of this conjecture it may be obſerved, that Ben Jonſon has in many places endeavoured to ridicule our author for repreſenting battles on the ſtage. So, in his prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*:

"——Yet ours, for want, hath not ſo lov'd the ſtage,
"As he dare ſerve the *ill cuſtoms* of the age;
"Or purchaſe your delight at ſuch a rate,
"As, for it, he himſelf muſt juſtly hate;
"To make, &c.

the ſame opinion, and thinks he ſees ſomething of Jonſon's hand here and there in the dialogue alſo.

" ——— or *with three ruſty ſwords,*
" *And help of ſome few foot-and-half-foot words,*
" *Fight over York and Lancaſter's long jars,*
" *And in the tyring houſe bring wounds to ſcars.*"

Again, in his *Silent Woman*, Act IV ſc. iv:

" Nay, I would fit out a play, that were nothing but fights at ſea, *drum*, *trumpet*, and *target*."

We are told in the memoirs of Ben Jonſon's life, that he went to France in the year 1613. But at the time of the revival of *King Henry VIII.* he either had not left England, or was then returned; for he was a ſpectator of the fire which happened at the Globe theatre during the repreſentation of that piece. [See the next note.]

It may, perhaps, ſeem extraordinary, that he ſhould have preſumed to prefix this covert cenſure of Shakſpeare to one of his own plays. But he appears to have eagerly embraced every opportunity of depreciating him. This occaſional prologue (whoever was the writer of it) confirms the tradition handed down by Rowe, that our author retired from the ſtage ſome years before his death. Had he been at that time joined with Heminge and Burbage in the management of the Globe theatre, he ſcarcely would have ſuffered the lines above alluded to, to have been ſpoken. In Lord Harrington's account of the money diſburſed for the plays that were exhibited by his majeſty's ſervants in the year 1613, before the Elector Palatine, all the payments are ſaid to have been made to "*John Heminge*, for himſelf and the reſt of his fellows;" from which we may conclude that he was principal manager. A correſpondent, however, of Sir Thomas Puckering's (as I learn from Mr. Tyrwhitt) in a MS. letter, preſerved in the Muſeum, and dated in the year 1613, calls the company at the Globe, "*Bourbage's* company."—Shakſpeare's name ſtands before either of theſe, in the licence granted by King James: and had he not left London before that time, the players at the Globe theatre, I imagine, would rather have been entitled, *his* company.—The burleſque parody on the account of Falſtaff's death, which is contained in Fletcher's comedy of *The Captain*, acted in 1613, and the ridicule of Hamlet's celebrated ſoliloquy, and of Ophelia's death, in his *Scornful Lady*, which was repreſented about the ſame time, confirm the tradition that our author had then retired from the ſtage, careleſs of the fate of his writings, inattentive to the illiberal attacks of his contemporaries, and negligent alike of preſent and poſthumous fame.

After our author's retirement to the country, Jonſon was perhaps employed to give a novelty to the piece by a new title and prologue, and to furniſh the managers of the Globe with a deſcription of the coronation ceremony, and of thoſe other decorations, with which, from his connection with Inigo Jones, and his attendance at court, he was peculiarly converſant.

The piece appears to have been revived with ſome degree of ſplendour; for Sir Henry Wotton gives a very pompous account of the repreſentation. The unlucky accident that happened to the houſe during the exhibition, was occaſioned by diſcharging ſome ſmall pieces, called chambers, on King Henry's arrival at Cardinal Wolſey's gate at Whitehall, one of which, being injudiciouſly managed, ſet fire to the thatched roof of the theatre.[1]

Since the above note was written, I have ſeen the mortgage which is printed in a preceding page, and was executed by Shakſpeare in March, 1612-13. From this deed we find that he was in London in that year; he might, however, have parted with his property in the theatre before.

[1] The Globe theatre (as I learn from the MSS. of Mr. Oldys) was thatched with reeds, and had an open area in its center. This area we may ſuppoſe to have been filled by the loweſt part of the audience, whom Shakſpeare calls the *groundlings*.—*Chambers* are not, like other guns, pointed horizontally, but are diſcharged as they ſtand erect on their breeches. The accident may, therefore, be eaſily accounted for. If theſe pieces were let off behind the ſcenes, the paper or wadding with which their charges were confined, would reach the thatch on the inſide; or if fixed without the walls, it might have been carried by the wind to the top of the roof.

This accident is alluded to, in the following lines of Ben Jonſon's *Execration upon Vulcan*, from which it appears, that he was at the Globe playhouſe when it was burnt; a circumſtance which in ſome meaſure ſtrengthens the conjecture that he was

The play, thus revived and new-named, was probably called in the bills of that time, a *new* play; which might have led Sir Henry Wotton to deſcribe it as ſuch. And thus his account may be reconciled with that of the other contemporary writers, as well as with thoſe arguments which have been here urged in ſupport of the early date of *King Henry VIII.* Every thing has been fully ſtated on each ſide of the queſtion. The reader muſt judge.

Mr. Roderick in his notes on our author, (appended to Mr. Edwards's *Canons of Criticiſm*,)

employed on the revival of *King Henry VIII.* for this was not the theatre at which his pieces were uſually repreſented:

" Well fare the wiſe men yet on the Bank-ſide,
" My friends, the watermen! they could provide
" Againſt thy fury, when, to ſerve their needs,
" They made a Vulcan of a ſheaf of reeds;
" Whom they durſt handle in their holy-day coats,
" And ſafely truſt to dreſs, not burn, their boats.
" But O thoſe reeds! thy mere diſdain of them
" Made thee beget that cruel ſtratagem,
" (Which ſome are pleas'd to ſtyle but thy mad prank,)
" Againſt *the Globe*, the glory of *the Bank*:
" Which, though it were the fort of the whole pariſh,
" Flank'd with a ditch, and forc'd out of a mariſh,
" *I ſaw*, with two poor *chambers* taken in,
" And raz'd; ere thought could urge this might have been.
" See the world's ruins! nothing but the piles
" Left, and wit ſince to cover it with tiles.
" The brethren, they ſtraight nois'd it out for news,
" 'Twas verily ſome relick of the ſtews,
" And this a ſparkle of that fire let looſe,
" That was lock'd up in the Wincheſtrian gooſe,
" Bred on *the Bank* in time of popery,
" When Venus there maintain'd her myſtery.
" But others fell, with that conceit, by the ears,
" And cried it was a threat'ning to the bears,
" And that accurſed ground, *the Paris-garden*," &c.

takes notice of ſome peculiarities in the metre of the play before us; viz. "*that there are many more verſes in it than in any other, which end with a redundant ſyllable*,"—"*very near two to one*,"—and that the "*cæſuræ or pauſes of the verſe are full as remarkable*." The *redundancy*, &c. obſerved by this critick, Mr. Steevens thinks (a remark, which, having omitted to introduce in its proper place, he deſires me to inſert here,) "was rather the effect of chance, than of deſign in the author; and might have ariſen either from the negligence of Shakſpeare, who in this play has borrowed whole ſcenes and ſpeeches from Holinſhed, whoſe words he was probably in too much haſte to compreſs into verſification ſtrictly regular and harmonious; or from the interpolations of Ben Jonſon, whoſe hand Dr. Farmer thinks he occaſionally perceives in the dialogue."

Whether Mr. Roderick's poſition be well founded, is hardly worth a conteſt; but the peculiarities which he has animadverted on, (if ſuch there be) add probability to the conjecture that this piece underwent ſome alterations, after it had paſſed out of the hands of Shakſpeare.

23. Troilus and Cressida, 1602.

Troilus and Creſsida was entered at Stationers' Hall, Feb. 7, 1602-3, under the title of *The booke of Troilus and Creſsida*, by J. Roberts, the printer of *Hamlet*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*. It was therefore, probably, written in 1602. It was printed in 1609, with the title of *The Hiſtory of Troylus and Creſsida*, with a preface by the editor, who ſpeaks of it as if it

had not been then acted. But it is entered in 1602-3, "*as acted by my Lord Chamberlen's men.*" The players at the Globe theatre, to which Shakſpeare belonged, were called *the Lord Chamberlen's ſervants*, till the year 1603. In that year they obtained a licence for their exhibitions from King James; and from that time they bore the more honourable appellation of *his majeſty's ſervants* There can, therefore, be little doubt, that the *Troilus and Creſsida* which is here entered, as acted at Shakſpeare's theatre, was his play, and was, if not repreſented, intended to have been repreſented there.[2]

Perhaps the two diſcordant accounts, relative to this piece, may be thus reconciled. It might have been performed in 1602 at *court*, by the lord chamberlain's ſervants, (as many plays at that time were,) and yet not have been exhibited on the publick ſtage till ſome years afterwards. The editor in 1609 only ſays, "it had never been ſtaled with the *ſtage*, never clapper-claw'd with the palms of *the vulgar*."

As a further proof of the early appearance of *Troilus and Creſsida*, it may be obſerved, that an incident in it ſeems to be burleſqued in a comedy entitled *Hiſtriomaſtix*, which, though not printed till 1610, muſt have been written before the death of Queen Elizabeth, who, in the laſt Act of the piece, is ſhadowed under the character of Aſtræa, and is ſpoken of as then living.

[2] No other play with this title has come down to us. We have therefore a right to conclude, that the play entered in the books of the Stationers' Company was Shakſpeare's.

[*See Additions to the Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Stage*, Vol. III. from whence it is proved, that there was an earlier play on this ſubject. STEEVENS.]

In our author's play, when Troilus and Creſſida part, he gives her his ſleeve, and ſhe, in return, preſents him with her glove.

To this circumſtance theſe lines in *Hiſtriomaſtix* ſeem to refer. They are ſpoken by Troilus and Creſſida, who are introduced in an interlude:

" *Troi.* Come, Creſſida, my creſſet light,
" Thy face doth ſhine both day and night.
" Behold, behold, *thy garter blue*
" *Thy knight his valiant elbow weares,*
" That, when he ſhakes his furious ſpeare,
" The foe in ſhivering fearful ſort
" May lay him down in death to ſnort.

" *Creſſ.* O knight, with valour in thy face,
" *Here take my ſkreene,* weare it for grace;
" Within thy helmet put the ſame,
" Therewith to make thy enemies lame."

In *Much Ado about Nothing*, Troilus is mentioned as " the firſt employer of pandars." Shakſpeare, therefore, probably had read Chaucer's poem before the year 1600, when that play was printed.

In *Cymbeline* it is ſaid, that

" Therſites' body is as good as Ajax,
" When neither are alive."

This ſeems to import a precedent knowledge of Ajax and Therſites, and in this light may be regarded as a preſumptive proof that *Troilus and Creſſida* was written before *Cymbeline*.

Dryden ſuppoſed *Troilus and Creſſida* to have been one of Shakſpeare's earlieſt performances;[3] but

[3] " The tragedy which I have undertaken to correct, was in all probability *one* of his *firſt endeavours* on the ſtage.—Shakſpeare (as I have hinted) *in the apprenticeſhip of his writing* modelled it [the ſtory of Lollius] into that play which is now called by the name of *Troilus and Creſſida*."—Dryden's pref. to *Troilus and Creſſida*.

has not mentioned on what principles he founded his judgment. Pope, on the other hand, thought it one of his laſt; grounding his opinion not only on the preface by the editor in 1609, but on "the great number of obſervations both moral and political with which this piece is crouded, more than any other of our author's." For my own part, were it not for the entry in the Stationers' books, I ſhould have been led, both by the colour of the writing and by the above-mentioned preface, to claſs it (though not one of our author's happieſt effuſions) in 1608, rather than in that year in which it is here placed.

24. Measure for Measure, 1603.

This play was not regiſtered at Stationers' Hall, nor printed, till 1623. But from two paſſages in it, which ſeem intended as a courtly apology for the ſtately and ungracious demeanour of King James I. on his entry into England, it appears probable that it was written not long after his acceſſion to the throne:

> "I'll privily away. I love the people,
> "But do not like to ſtage me to their eyes.
> "Though it do well, I do not reliſh well
> "Their loud applauſe, and aves vehement;
> "Nor do I think the man of ſafe diſcretion
> "That does affect it." *Meaſure for Meaſure*, Act I. ſc. i.

Again, Act II. ſc. iv:

> "——————So
> "The general, ſubject to a well-wiſh'd king,
> "Quit their own part, and in obſequious fondneſs
> "Croud to his preſence, where their untaught love
> "Muſt needs appear offence."[4]

[4] See Mr. Tyrwhitt's note.

King James was *ſo much offended* by the *untaught*, and, we may add, undeſerved, gratulations of his ſubjects, on his entry into England, that he iſſued a proclamation, forbidding the people to reſort to him.—"Afterwards," ſays the hiſtorian of his reign, "in his publick appearances, eſpecially in his ſports, the acceſſes of the people made him ſo impatient, that he often diſperſed them with frowns, that we may not ſay with *curſes*."[5]

It is obſervable throughout our author's plays that he does not ſcruple to introduce Engliſh ſigns, habits, cuſtoms, names, &c. though the ſcene of his drama lies in a foreign country; and that he has frequent alluſions to the circumſtances of the day, though the events which form the ſubject of his piece are ſuppoſed to have happened a thouſand years before. Thus, in *Coriolanus*, *Hob* and *Dick* are plebeians; and the Romans toſs their caps in the air, with the ſame expreſſions of feſtivity which our poet's contemporaries diſplayed in Stratford or London. In *Twelfth-Night* we hear of the bed of Ware, and the bells of Saint Bennet; and in *The Taming of the Shrew* the *Pegaſus*, a ſign of a publick houſe in Cheapſide in the time of Queen Elizabeth, is hung up in a town in Italy. In *Hamlet* the Prince of Denmark and Guildenſtern hold a long converſation concerning the children of the Chapel and St. Paul's. The opening of the preſent play, viewed in this light, furniſhes an additional argument in ſupport of the date which I have aſſigned to it. When King James came to the throne of England, March 24, 1602-3, he found the kingdom engaged in a war with Spain, which had laſted near twenty years. "*Heaven*

[5] Wilſon's *Hiſtory of King James*, ad ann. 1603.

grant us his peace!" ſays a gentleman to Lucio, Act I. ſc. ii.; and afterwards the bawd laments, that "what with *the war*, what with the ſweat, ſhe was cuſtom-ſhrunk." Suppoſing theſe two paſſages to relate to our author's own time, they almoſt deciſively prove *Meaſure for Meaſure* to have been written in 1603; when the war was not yet ended, as the latter words ſeem to imply, and when there was ſome *proſpect* of peace, as the former ſeem to intimate. Our Britiſh Solomon very ſoon after his acceſſion to the throne manifeſted his pacifick diſpoſition, though the peace with Spain was not proclaimed till the 19th of Auguſt, 1604.

By *the ſweat*, conſidering who the ſpeaker is, it is probable that the diſorder moſt fatal to thoſe of her profeſſion was intended. However, the plague was ſometimes ſo called; and perhaps the dreadful peſtilence of 1603 was meant; which carried off in the month of July in that year 857 perſons, and in the whole year 30,578 perſons: that is, one fifth part of the people in the metropolis; the total number of the inhabitants of London being at that time about one hundred and fifty thouſand. If ſuch was the alluſion, it likewiſe confirms the date attributed to this play.

Some part of this laſt argument in confirmation of the date which I had aſſigned ſome years ago to the comedy before us, I owe to Mr. Capell; and while I acknowledge the obligation, it is but juſt to add, that it is the only one that I met with, which in the ſmalleſt degree could throw any light on the preſent inquiry into the dates of our author's plays,

"In the dry deſert of *ten* thouſand lines;"

after wading through two ponderous volumes in quarto, written in a ſtyle manifeſtly formed on that of the Clown in the comedy under our conſideration, whoſe narratives, we are told, were calculated to laſt out *a night in Ruſsia, when nights are at the longeſt.*

In the year 1604, ſays Wilſon the hiſtorian, "the ſword and buckler trade being out of date, diverſe ſects of vitious perſons, under the title of *roaring boys, bravadoes, royſters*, &c. commit many inſolencies; the ſtreets ſwarm night and day with quarrels: private duels are fomented, eſpecially between the Engliſh and Scotch: and great feuds between proteſtants and papiſts." A proclamation was publiſhed to reſtrain theſe enormities; which proving ineffectual, the legiſlature interpoſed, and the act commonly called the ſtatute of ſtabbing, 1 Jac. I. c. 8. was made. This ſtatute, as Sir Michael Foſter obſerves, was principally intended to put a ſtop to the outrages above enumerated, "committed by perſons of inflammable ſpirits and deep reſentment, who, wearing ſhort daggers under their cloaths, were too well prepared to do quick and effectual execution upon provocations extremely ſlight." King James's firſt parliament met on the 19th of March, 1603-4, and ſat till the 7th of July following. From the time of James's acceſſion to the throne great animoſity ſubſiſted between the Engliſh and Scotch; and many of the outrageous acts which gave riſe to the ſtatute of ſtabbing, had been committed in the preceding year, about the end of which year I ſuppoſe *Meaſure for Meaſure* to have been written. The enumeration made by the Clown, in the fourth Act, of the perſons who were confined with him in the priſon, is an additional confirmation of the date

aſſigned to it. Of ten priſoners whom he names, four are ſtabbers, or duelliſts: "Maſter Starve-lacky, the rapier and dagger man, young Drop-heir that killed luſty Pudding, Maſter Forth-right, the tilter, and wild Half-can that ſtabbed Pots."

That *Meaſure for Meaſure* was written before 1607, may be fairly concluded from the following paſſage in a poem publiſhed in that year, which we have good ground to believe was copied from a ſimilar thought in this play, as the author, at the end of his piece, profeſſes a perſonal regard for Shakſpeare, and highly praiſes his *Venus and Adonis*:[6]

"So play the fooliſh *throngs* with one that *ſwoons*;
"Come all to *help* him, and ſo ſtop the *air*
"By which he ſhould revive."
Meaſure for Meaſure, Act II. ſc. iv.

"And like as when ſome ſudden extaſie
"Seizeth the nature of a ſicklie man;
"When he's diſcern'd to *ſwoone*, ſtraite by and by
"Folke to his *helpe* confuſedly have ran;
"And ſeeking with their art to fetch him backe,
"So many *throng*, that he the *ayre* doth lacke."
Myrrha, the Mother of Adonis, or Luſt's Prodigies,
By William Barkſted, a poem, 1607.

[6] See the verſes alluded to, ante, p. 120. *& ſeq.* n. 7. This writer does not ſeem to have been very ſcrupulous about adopting either the thoughts or expreſſions of his contemporaries; for in his poem are found two lines taken *verbatim* from Marſton's *Inſatiate Counteſs*, printed four years before *Myrrha, the Mother of Adonis*, &c.

"Night, like a maſque, was enter'd heaven's great hall,
"With thouſand torches uſhering the way."

It appears from Ben Jonſon's *Silent Woman*, that W. Barkſted was an actor, and was employed in the theatre where our author's plays were repreſented. He might therefore have performed a part in *Meaſure for Meaſure*, or have ſeen the copy before it was printed.

25. The Winter's Tale, 1604.

Greene's *Doraſtus and Fawnia*, from which the plot of this play was taken, was publiſhed in 1588.

The Winter's Tale was not entered on the Stationers' books, nor printed, till 1623. It was acted at court in 1613.[7]

In the firſt edition of this eſſay I ſuppoſed *The Winter's Tale* to have been written in 1594; an error (as it now appears to me) into which I was

[7] MS. of the late Mr. Vertue.—I had obſerved in a note that Ben Jonſon has ridiculed this play and *The Tempeſt*, in his *Bartholomew Fair*, which firſt appeared in the year 1614, and that he might have been induced to do ſo from their having been acted at court in the preceding year. But I am now inclined to think that he rather joined theſe plays in the ſame cenſure, in conſequence of their having been produced at no great diſtance of time from each other; and that *The Winter's Tale* ought to have been aſcribed to the year 1613. In the office-book of Sir Henry Herbert I obſerve, that among the court-plays performed at Chriſtmas were generally included the laſt new pieces which had been exhibited on the public ſtage. Several of Fletcher's latter plays were performed at court in the ſame year in which they were firſt repreſented. But the entry which has been quoted in a preceding page, relative to *The Winter's Tale*, furniſhes a ſtill ſtronger reaſon for referring it to this year; for it appears that it had been originally licenſed by Sir George Buck, and that the licenſed copy had been loſt. The licenſed copy of *The Honeſt Man's Fortune*, which was produced in the year 1613, was likewiſe loſt, and afterwards re-licenſed by Sir Henry Herbert on its revival in 1624-5. It is highly probable that *The Winter's Tale* was firſt exhibited at the Globe in the ſame year, and that both theſe pieces were deſtroyed by the fire which conſumed the theatre, June 30, 1613.

Though Sir George Buck obtained a reverſionary grant of the office of Maſter of the Revels, in 1603, which title Camden has given him in the edition of his *Britannia* printed in 1607, it appears from various documents in the Pells-office that he did not get complete poſſeſſion of his place till Auguſt 1610.

led by an entry in the Stationers' regiſters dated May 22, in that year, of a piece entitled *A Winter-Night's Paſtime*, which I imagined might have been this play under another name, the titles of our author's plays having been ſometimes changed.[8]

The opinion, however, which I gave on this ſubject, was by no means a decided one. I then mentioned that "Mr. Walpole thought, that this play was intended by Shakſpeare as an indirect apology for Anne Bullen, in which light it might be conſidered as a Second Part to *King Henry VIII.*; and that my reſpect for that very judicious and ingenious writer, the ſilence of Meres, in whoſe catalogue of our author's dramas publiſhed in 1598 the play before us is not found, and the circumſtance of there not being a ſingle rhyming couplet throughout this piece, except in the chorus, made me doubt whether it ought not rather to be aſcribed to the year 1601 or 1602, than that in which I then placed it."

The doubts which I then entertained, a more attentive examination of this play has confirmed; and I am now perſuaded that it was not near ſo early a compoſition as the entry above mentioned led me to ſuppoſe.

Mr. Walpole has obſerved,[9] that "*The Winter's Tale* may be ranked among the hiſtorick plays of Shakſpeare, though not one of his numerous criticks and commentators have diſcovered the drift of it. It was certainly intended (in compliment to

[8] Thus, *Hamlet* was ſometimes called *Hamlet's Revenge*, ſometimes *The Hiſtory of Hamlet*; *The Merchant of Venice* was ſometimes called *The Jew of Venice*, &c. See p. 313, n. 7.

[9] *Hiſtorick Doubts.*

Queen Elizabeth) as an indirect apology for her mother, Anne Boleyn. The address of the poet appears no where to more advantage. The subject was too delicate to be exhibited on the stage without a veil; and it was too recent, and touched the queen too nearly, for the bard to have ventured so near an allusion on any other ground than compliment. The unreasonable jealousy of Leontes, and his violent conduct in consequence, form a true portrait of Henry the Eighth, who generally made the law the engine of his boisterous passions. Not only the general plan of the story is most applicable, but several passages are so marked, that they touch the real history nearer than the fable. Hermione on her trial says,

> " ——————— for honour,
> " 'Tis a derivative from me to mine,
> " And only that I stand for."

This seems to be taken from the very letter of Anne Boleyn to the king before her execution, when she pleads for the infant princess, his daughter. Mamillius, a young prince, an unnecessary character, dies in his infancy; but it confirms the allusion, as Queen Anne, before Elizabeth, had a still-born son. But the most striking passage, and which had nothing to do in the tragedy, but as it pictured Elizabeth, is, where Paulina describing the new-born princess, and her likeness to her father, says, "*she has the very trick of his frown.*" There is another sentence indeed so applicable, both to Elizabeth and her father, that I should suspect the poet inserted it after her death. Paulina, speaking of the child, tells the king:

> " ——— 'Tis yours;
> " And, might we lay the old proverb to your charge,
> " So like you, 'tis the worse."

This conjecture muſt, I think, be acknowledged to be extremely plauſible. With reſpect, however, to the death of the young prince Mamillius, which is ſuppoſed to allude to Queen Anne's having had a ſtill-born ſon, it is but fair to obſerve, that this circumſtance was not an invention of our poet, being founded on a ſimilar incident in Lodge's [Greene's] *Doraſtus and Fawnia*, in which Garinter, the Mamillius of *The Winter's Tale*, likewiſe dies in his infancy. But this by no means diminiſhes the force of the hypotheſis which has been juſt now ſtated; it only ſhows, that Shakſpeare was not under the neceſſity of twiſting the ſtory to his purpoſe, and that this as well as the many other correſponding circumſtances between the fictitious narrative of Bellaria, (the Hermione of the preſent play,) and the real hiſtory of the mother of Elizabeth, almoſt forced the ſubject upon him.

Sir William Blackſtone has pointed out a paſſage in the firſt Act of this play, which had eſcaped my obſervation, and which, as he juſtly obſerves, furniſhes a proof that it was not written till after the death of Queen Elizabeth:

> "——" If I could find example
> "Of thouſands, that had ſtruck anointed kings,
> "And flouriſh'd after, I'd not do it; but ſince
> "Nor braſs, nor ſtone, nor parchment, bears not one,
> "Let villainy itſelf forſwear it."

Theſe lines could never have been intended for the ear of her who had deprived the Queen of Scots of her life. To the ſon of Mary they could not but have been agreeable.

If we ſuppoſe with Mr. Walpole that this play was intended as a compliment to Queen Elizabeth, it ought rather to be attributed to the year 1602,

than that in which I have placed it: but the paſſage laſt quoted is inconſiſtent with ſuch a date. Mr. Walpole himſelf alſo has quoted ſome lines, which he thinks could not have been inſerted till after the death of Elizabeth. Perhaps our author lay'd the ſcheme of the play in the very year in which the Queen died, and finiſhed it in the next. This is the only ſuppoſition that I know of, by which theſe diſcordancies can be reconciled. I have therefore attributed it to 1604.

In that year was entered on the Stationers' books "A ſtrange reporte of a *monſtrous fiſh*, that appeared *in the form of a woman* from her waiſt upward, ſeene in the ſea." To this perhaps the poet alludes, when he makes Autolycus produce a ballad "Of a *fiſh* that appeared upon the coaſt, on Wedneſday the fourſcore of April, forty thouſand fathom above water, and *ſung* this ballad againſt the hard hearts of maids: it was thought, *ſhe was a woman*, and was turn'd into a cold fiſh," &c.

There is, ſays one of the characters in this piece, "but one *Puritan* among them, and he ſings pſalms to hornpipes." The preciſe manners of the puritans were at this time much ridiculed by proteſtants; and the principal matters in diſpute between them (whether the ſurplice ſhould be uſed in the celebration of divine ſervice, the croſs in baptiſm, and the ring in marriage,) were gravely diſcuſſed at Hampton Court before the king, who acted as moderator, in the beginning of the year 1604. The points diſcuſſed on that occaſion were, without doubt, very popular topicks at that time; and every ſtroke at the Puritans, for whom King James had a hearty deteſtation, muſt have been very agreeable to him as well as to the frequenters of the theatre, againſt which that ſect inveighed in

the bittereſt terms. Shakſpeare, from various paſſages in his plays, ſeems to have entirely coincided in opinion with his majeſty, on this ſubject.

The metre of *The Winter's Tale* appears to me leſs eaſy and flowing than many other of our poet's dramas; and the phraſeology throughout to be more involved and parenthetical than any other of his plays. In this harſhneſs of diction and involution of ſentences it ſtrongly reſembles *Troilus and Creſſida*, and *King Henry the Eighth*, which I ſuppoſe to have been written not long before.

26. King Lear, 1605.

The tragedy of *King Lear* was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company, Nov. 26, 1607, and is there mentioned to have been played the preceding Chriſtmas, before his majeſty at Whitehall. But this, I conjecture, was not its firſt exhibition. It ſeems extremely probable that its firſt appearance was in March or April, 1605; in which year the old play of *King Leir*, that had been entered at Stationers' Hall in 1594, was printed by Simon Stafford, for John Wright, who, we may preſume, finding Shakſpeare's play ſucceſsful, hoped to palm the ſpurious one on the publick for his.[1] The old *King Leir* was entered on the Sta-

[1] Shakſpeare has copied one of the paſſages in this old play. This he might have done, though we ſhould ſuppoſe it not to have been publiſhed till after his *King Lear* was written and acted; for the old play had been in poſſeſſion of the ſtage for many years before 1605; and without doubt he had often ſeen it exhibited; nor could he have found any difficulty in procuring a manuſcript copy of it, when he ſat down to write his own tragedy on the ſame ſubject. I ſuſpect, however, the old play had been publiſhed in 1594.

tioners' books, May 8, 1605, as it was *lately* acted.

Harſnet's *Declaration of Popiſh Impoſtors*, from which Shakſpeare borrowed ſome fantaſtick names of ſpirits, mentioned in this play, was printed in 1603. Our author's *King Lear* was not publiſhed till 1608.

This play is aſcertained to have been written after the month of October, 1604, by a minute change which Shakſpeare made in a traditional line, put into the mouth of Edgar:

> " His words was ſtill,—Fye, foh, fum,
> " I ſmell the blood of a *Britiſh* man."

The old metrical ſaying, which is found in one of Naſhe's pamphlets, printed in 1596, and in other books, was,

> " ——————— Fy, fa, fum,
> " I ſmell the blood of an *Engliſhman*."

Though a complete union of England and Scotland, which was projected in the firſt parliament that met after James's acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, was not carried into effect till a century afterwards, the two kingdoms were united in *name*, and he was proclaimed king of *Great Britain*, October 24, 1604.

27. Cymbeline, 1605.

Cymbeline was not entered in the Stationers' books nor printed till 1623. It ſtands the laſt play in the earlieſt folio edition; but nothing can be collected from thence, for the folio editors manifeſtly paid

no attention to chronological arrangement. Nor was this negligence peculiar to them: for in the folio collection of D'Avenant's works printed after his death, *Albovine, King of the Lombards*, one of his earlieſt plays, which had been publiſhed in quarto, in 1629, is placed at the end of the volume.

I have found in *Cymbeline* little internal evidence by which its date may be aſcertained. Such evidence, however, as it furniſhes, induces me to aſcribe it to 1605, after Shakſpeare had compoſed *King Lear*, and before he had written *Macbeth*. The character of Edgar in *King Lear* is undoubtedly formed on that of *Leonatus*, the legitimate ſon of the blind king of Paphlagonia, in Sydney's *Arcadia*. Shakſpeare having occaſion to turn to that book while he was writing *King Lear*, the name of *Leonatus* adhered to his memory, and he has made it the name of one of the characters in *Cymbeline*. The ſtory of Lear lies near to that of Cymbeline in Holinſhed's Chronicle; and ſome account of Duncan and Macbeth is given incidentally in a ſubſequent page, not very diſtant from that part of the volume which is allotted to the hiſtory of thoſe Britiſh kings. In Holinſhed's *Scottiſh Chronicle* we find a ſtory of one Hay, a huſbandman, who, with his two ſons, placed himſelf athwart a lane, and by this means ſtayed his flying countrymen; which turned the battle againſt the Danes. This circumſtance, (which our poet has availed himſelf of in the fifth Act of the play before us) connected with what has been already mentioned relative to Sydney's *Arcadia*, renders it probable that the three plays of *King Lear*, *Cymbeline*, and *Macbeth*, were written about the ſame period of time, and in the order in which I have

placed them. The hiſtory of King Duff, Duncan, and Macbeth, which Shakſpeare appears to have diligently read, extends from p. 150 of Holinſhed's *Scottiſh Chronicle*, to p. 176; and the ſtory of Hay occurs in p. 154 of the ſame Chronicle.

Mr. Steevens has obſerved, that there is a paſſage in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Philaſter*, which bears a ſtrong reſemblance to a ſpeech of Jachimo in *Cymbeline*:

> " I hear the tread of people: I am hurt;
> " *The gods take part againſt me; could this boor*
> " *Have held me thus, elſe?*" *Philaſter*, Act IV. ſc. i.

> " ——————I have bely'd a lady,
> " The princeſs of this country; *and the air of't*
> " *Revengingly enfeebles me; or could this carle,*
> " *A very drudge of nature's, have ſubdued me*
> " *In my profeſſion?*" *Cymbeline*, Act IV. ſc. ii.

Philaſter had appeared on the ſtage before 1611, being mentioned by John Davies of Hereford, in his *Epigrams*, which have no date, but were publiſhed according to Oldys in or about that year.[a] Dryden mentions a tradition (which he might have received from Sir William D'Avenant,) that *Philaſter* was the firſt play by which Beaumont and Fletcher acquired reputation, and that they had written two or three leſs ſucceſsful pieces, before *Philaſter* appeared. From a prologue of D'Avenant's their firſt production ſhould ſeem to have been exhibited about the year 1605. *Philaſter*, therefore, it may be preſumed, was repreſented in 1608 or 1609.

One edition of the tract called *Weſtward for*

[a] *Additions* to Langbaine's *Account of Dramatick Poets*, MS.

Smelts, from which part of the fable of *Cymbeline* is borrowed, was publiſhed in 1603.

In this play mention is made of Cæſar's immeaſureable ambition, and Cleopatra's ſailing on the Cydnus to meet Antony: from which, and other circumſtances, I think it probable that about this time Shakſpeare peruſed the lives of Cæſar, Brutus, and Mark Antony.

28. Macbeth, 1606.

Guthrie aſſerts in his Hiſtory of Scotland, that King James, "to prove how thoroughly he was emancipated from the tutelage of his clergy, deſired Queen Elizabeth in the year 1599 to ſend him a company of Engliſh comedians. She complied, and James gave them a licence to act in his capital and in his court. I have great reaſon to think, (adds the hiſtorian,) that the immortal Shakſpeare was of the number.[1] But his drama, which finds acceſs at this day to the moſt inſenſible hearts, had no charms in the eyes of the preſbyterian clergy. They threatened excommunication to all who attended the playhouſe. Many forebore to attend the theatrical exhibitions. James conſidered the inſolent interpoſition of the clergy as a freſh attack upon his prerogative, and ordered thoſe who had been moſt active, to retract their menaces, which they unwillingly did; and we are told that the playhouſe was then greatly crouded."

I know not to what degree of credit this anec-

[1] If the writer had any ground for this aſſertion, why was it not ſtated? It is extremely improbable that Shakſpeare ſhould have left London at this period. In 1599 his *King Henry V.* was produced, and without doubt acted with great applauſe.

dote is entitled; but it is certain, that James, after his acceſſion to the Engliſh throne, was a great encourager of theatrical exhibitions. From 1604 to 1608 he devoted himſelf entirely to hunting, maſques, plays, tiltings, &c. In 1605 he viſited Oxford. From a book entitled *Rex Platonicus*, cited by Dr. Farmer, we learn, that on entering the city the king was addreſſed by three ſtudents of St. John's College, who alternately accoſted his majeſty, reciting ſome Latin verſes, founded on the prediction of the wëird ſiſters relative to Banquo and Macbeth.[4]

Dr. Farmer is of opinion, that this performance preceded Shakſpeare's play; a ſuppoſition which is ſtrengthened by the ſilence of the author of *Rex Platónicus*, who, if *Macbeth* had then appeared on the ſtage, would probably have mentioned ſomething of it. It ſhould be likewiſe remembered, that there ſubſiſted at that time, a ſpirit of oppoſition and rivalſhip between the regular players and the academicks of the two univerſities; the latter of whom frequently acted plays both in Latin and Engliſh, and ſeem to have piqued themſelves on the ſuperiority of their exhibitions to thoſe of the eſtabliſhed theatres.[5] Withing probably to manifeſt

[4] See Vol. X. p. 300.

[5] Ab ejuſdem collegii alumnis (qui et cothurno tragico et ſocco comico principes ſemper habebantur) *Vertumnus*, comœdia facета, ad principes exhilarandos exhibetur. *Rex Platonicus*, p. 78.

Arcadium reſtauratam Iſiacorum Arcadum lectiſſimi cecinerunt, unoque opere, principum omniumque ſpectantium animos immenſa et ultra fidem affecerunt voluptate; *ſimulque patrios ludiones, etſi exercitatiſſimos, quantum interſit inter ſcenam mercenariam & eruditam docuerunt.* Ib. p. 228. See alſo, *The Return from Parnaſſus*, (Act IV. ſc. iii.) which was acted publickly at St. John's College in Cambridge.

this ſuperiority to the royal pedant, it is not likely that they would chooſe for a collegiate interlude, (if this little performance deſerves that name,) a ſubject which had already appeared on the publick ſtage, with all the embelliſhments that the magick hand of Shakſpeare could beſtow.

In the following July (1606) the King of Denmark came to England on a viſit to his ſiſter, Queen Anne, and on the third of Auguſt was inſtalled a knight of the garter. "There is nothing to be heard at court," (ſays Drummond of Hawthornden in a letter dated that day,) "but ſounding of trumpets, hautboys, muſick, revellings, and comedies." Perhaps during this viſit *Macbeth* was firſt exhibited.

This tragedy contains an alluſion to the union of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, under one ſovereign, and alſo to the cure of the king's-evil by the royal touch.[6] A ritual for the healing of that diſtemper was eſtabliſhed early in this reign; but in what year that pretended power was aſſumed by King James I. is uncertain.

Macbeth was not entered in the Stationers' books, nor printed, till 1623.

In *The Tragedy of Cæſar and Pompey, or Cæſar's Revenge*, are theſe lines:

> "Why, think you, lords, that 'tis *ambition's* ſpur
> "That *pricketh* Cæſar to theſe high attempts?"

If the author of that play, which was publiſhed in 1607, ſhould be thought to have had Macbeth's ſoliloquy in view, (which is not unlikely,) this

[6] *Macbeth*, Act IV. ſc. i. ii.

circumſtance may add ſome degree of probability to the ſuppoſition that this tragedy had appeared before that year:

" ——————— I have no *ſpur*
" To *prick* the ſides of my intent, but only
" Vaulting *ambition*, which o'erleaps itſelf,
" And falls at the other ——."

At the time when *Macbeth* is ſuppoſed to have been written, the ſubject, it is probable, was conſidered as a topick the moſt likely to conciliate the favour of the court. In the additions to Warner's *Albion's England*, which were firſt printed in 1606, the ſtory of "*The Three Fairies or Wïird Elves*," as he calls them, is ſhortly told, and King James's deſcent from Banquo carefully deduced.

Ben Jonſon, a few years afterwards, paid his court to his majeſty by his *Maſque of Queens*,[6] preſented at Whitehall, Feb. 2[illegible], 1609; in which he has given a minute detail of all the magick rites that are recorded by King James in his book of *Dæmonologie*, or by any other author ancient or modern.

Mr. Steevens has lately diſcovered a MS. play, entitled THE WITCH, written by Thomas Middleton,[7] which renders it queſtionable, whether

[6] Mr. Upton was of opinion that this maſque preceded *Macbeth*. But the only ground which he ſtates for this conjecture, is, "[illegible]on's pride would not ſuffer him to borrow from Shak[illegible]ugh he ſtole from the ancients."

[7] In an advertiſement prefixed to an edition of *A Mad World my Maſters*, a comedy by Thomas Middleton, 1640, the printer ſays, that the author was "*long ſince dead*." Middleton probably died ſoon after the year 1626. He was chronologer to the city of London, and it does not appear that any maſque or pageant, in honour of the Lord Mayor, was ſet forth by him after

Shakſpeare was not indebted to that author for the firſt hint of the magick introduced in this tragedy. The reader will find an account of this ſingular curioſity in the note.[8]—To the obſervations of

that year.* From the dates of his printed plays, and from the enſuing verſes on his laſt performance, by Sir William Lower, we may conclude, that he was as early a writer, and at leaſt as old, as Shakſpeare:

"*Tom Middleton* his numerous iſſue brings,
"And his laſt muſe delights us when ſhe ſings:
"His halting age a pleaſure doth impart,
"And his white locks ſhew maſter of his art."

The following dramatick pieces by Middleton appear to have been publiſhed in his life-time. *Your Five Gallants*, no date.—*Blurt Maſter Conſtable, or the Spaniard's Night-Walk*, 1602.—*Michaelmas Term*, 1607.—*The Phœnix*, 1607.—*The Family of Love*, 1608.—*A Trick to catch the Old One*, 1608.—*A Mad World my Maſters*, 1608.—*The Roaring Girl, or Moll Cutpurſe*, 1611.—*Fair Quarrel*, 1617.—*A Chaſte Maid of Cheapſide*, 1620.—*A Game at Cheſſe*, no date.—Moſt of his other plays were printed, about thirty years after his death, by Kirkman and other bookſellers, into whoſe hands his manuſcripts fell.

[8] In a former note on this tragedy, I have ſaid that the original edition contains only the two firſt words of the ſong in the fourth Act, beginning—*Black ſpirits*, &c.; but have lately diſcovered the entire ſtanza in an *unpubliſhed* dramatick piece, viz. "A Tragi-Coomodie called THE WITCH: *long ſince* acted by his Ma.ties Servants at the Black Friers; written by *Tho. Middleton*." The ſong is there called—"A charme-ſong, about a veſſell." The other ſong omitted in the 5th ſcene of the 3d Act of *Macbeth*, together with the imperfect couplet there, may likewiſe be found, as follows, in *Middleton's* performance.—The *Hecate* of *Shakſpeare* ſays:

"I am for the air," &c.

The *Hecate* of *Middleton* (who like the former is ſummoned away by aerial ſpirits) has the ſame declaration in almoſt the ſame words: "I am for aloft," &c.

"*Song.*] Come away, come away:
"*Hecat, Hecat*, come away. } *in the air.*

* *The Triumph of Health and Proſperity at the Inauguration of the moſt worthy Brother, the Right Hon. Cuthbert Hacket, draper; compoſed by* Thomas Middleton, draper, 1626, 4to.

Mr. Steevens I have only to add, that the ſongs, beginning, *Come away*, &c. and *Black ſpirits*, &c.

" *Hec.* I come, I come, I come,
" With all the ſpeed I may,
" With all the ſpeed I may.
" Wher's *Stadlin?*
" Heere.] *in the aire.*
" Wher's *Puckle?*
" Heere.] *in the aire.*
" And *Hoppo* too, and *Hellwaine* too.
" We lack but you, we lack but you: } *in the aire.*
" Come away, make up the count.
" *Hec.* I will but 'noynt, and then I mount.
" A ſpirit like a cat deſcends. { There's one comes downe to fetch his dues, / A kiſſe, a coll, a ſip of blood: / And why thou ſtaiſt ſo long / " I muſe, I muſe, } *above.*
" Since the air's ſo ſweet and good.
" *Hec.* Oh, art thou come?
" What newes, what newes?
" All goes ſtill to our delight, } *above.*
" Either come, or els
" Refuſe, refuſe.
" *Hec.* Now I am furniſh'd for the flight.
" *Fire.*] Hark, hark, the catt ſings a brave treble in her owne language.
" *Hec. going up.*] Now I goe, now I flie,
" *Malkin*, my ſweete ſpirit, and I.
" Oh what a daintie pleaſure 'tis,
" To ride in the aire
" When the moone ſhines faire,
" And ſing, and daunce, and toy and kiſs!
" Over woods, high rocks and mountains,
" Over ſeas, our miſtris' fountains,
" Over ſteepe towres and turrets,
" We fly by night 'mongſt troopes of ſpiritts.
" No ring of bells to our eares ſounds,
" No howles of woolves, no yelpes of hounds;
" No, not the noyſe of waters'-breache,
" Or cannons' throat, our height can reache.
" No ring of bells, &c.] *above.*
" *Fire.*] Well, mother, I thank your kindneſs: you muſt be

being found at full length in *The Witch*, while only the two firſt words of them are printed in *Macbeth*,

gambolling i' th'aire, and leave me to walk here, like a foole and a mortall. *Exit.* *Finis Actus Tercii.*"

This *Fire-ſtone*, who occaſionally interpoſes in the courſe of the dialogue, is called, in the Liſt of Perſons Repreſented,—"The *Clowne* and *Hecat's* ſon."

Again, the *Hecate* of *Shakſpeare* ſays to her ſiſters:

"I'll charm the *air* to give a ſound,
"While you perform your antique round," &c.
[*Muſick. The Witches dance and vaniſh.*

The *Hecate* of *Middleton* ſays on a ſimilar occaſion:

"Come, my ſweete ſiſters, let the *aire* ſtrike our tune,
"Whilſt we ſhew reverence to yond peeping moone."
[*Here they dance and Exeunt.*

In this play, the motives which incline the Witches to miſchief, their manners, the contents of their cauldron, &c. ſeem to have more than accidental reſemblance to the ſame particulars in *Macbeth*. The hags of *Middleton*, like the weird ſiſters of *Shakſpeare*, deſtroy cattle becauſe they have been refuſed proviſions at farm-houſes. The owl and the cat (*Gray Malkin*) give them notice when it is time to proceed on their ſeveral expeditions. Thus *Shakſpeare's* Witch:

"Harper cries;—'tis time, 'tis time."

Thus too the *Hecate* of *Middleton*:

"*Hec.*] Heard you the owle yet?
"*Stad.*] Briefely in the copps.
"*Hec.*] 'Tis high time for us then."

The *Hecate* of *Shakſpeare*, addreſſing her ſiſters, obſerves, that Macbeth is but *a wayward ſon, who loves for his own ends, not for them*. The *Hecate* of *Middleton* has the ſame obſervation, when the youth who has been conſulting her, retires:

"I know he loves me not, nor there's no hope on't."

Inſtead of the *greaſe that's ſweaten from the murderer's gibbet*, and the *finger of birth-ſtrangled babe*, the Witches of Middleton employ "the griſtle of a man that *hangs after ſunſet*," (i. e. of a murderer, for all other criminals were anciently cut down before evening,) and the "fat of an unbaptized child." They likewiſe boaſt of the power to raiſe tempeſts that ſhall blow down trees, overthrow buildings, and occaſion ſhipwreck; and, more particularly, that they can "*make miles of woods walk.*" Here too the Grecian *Hecate* is degraded into a preſiding witch, and exerciſed in ſuperſtitions peculiar to our own country. So much

favour the ſuppoſition that Middleton's piece preceded that of Shakſpeare; the latter, it ſhould

for the ſcenes of enchantment; but even other parts of *Middleton's* play coincide more than once with that of *Shakſpeare*. Lady *Macbeth* ſays, in Act II:

> " ——————— the ſurfeited grooms
> " Do mock their charge with *ſnores*. I have *drugg'd* their *poſſets*."

So too, *Franciſca*, in the piece of *Middleton*:

> " —— they're now all at reſt,
> " And Gaſpar there and all:—Liſt!—faſt aſleepe;
> " He *cryes* it hither.—I muſt diſeaſe you ſtrait, ſir:
> " For the maide-ſervants, and the girles o' th' houſe,
> " I *ſpic'd* them lately with a *drowſie poſſet*,
> " They will not hear in haſte."

And *Franciſca*, like Lady *Macbeth*, is watching late at night to encourage the perpretation of a murder.

The expreſſion which *Shakſpeare* has put into the mouth of *Macbeth*, when he is ſufficiently recollected to perceive that the dagger and the blood on it, were the creation of his own fancy, —"There's no ſuch thing,"—is likewiſe appropriated to *Franciſca*, when ſhe undeceives her brother, whoſe imagination had been equally abuſed.

From the inſtances already produced, perhaps the reader would allow, that if *Middleton's* piece preceded *Shakſpeare's*, the originality of the magick introduced by the latter, might be fairly queſtioned; for our author (who as actor and manager, had acceſs to unpubliſhed dramatick performances) has ſo often condeſcended to receive hints from his contemporaries, that our ſuſpicion of his having been [illegible] in the preſent inſtance, might not be without foundation. [illegible] perhaps, a time may arrive, in which it will become evident from books and manuſcripts yet undiſcovered and unexamined, that *Shakſpeare* never attempted a play on any argument, till the effect of the ſame ſtory, or at leaſt the ruling incidents in it, had been already tried on the ſtage, and familiarized to his audience. Let it be remembered, in ſupport of this conjecture, that dramatick pieces on the following ſubjects,—viz. *King John*, *King Richard II. and III.* *King Henry IV. and V.* *King Henry VIII.* *King Lear*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Meaſure for Meaſure*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Taming of a Shrew*, *and The Comedy of Errors*,—had appeared before thoſe of *Shakſpeare*, and that he has taken ſomewhat from all of them that we have hitherto ſeen. I muſt obſerve at the ſame time, that *Middleton*, in his other dramas, is

ſeem, thinking it unneceſſary to ſet down verſes which were probably well known, and perhaps

found to have borrowed little from the ſentiments, and nothing from the fables of his predeceſſors. He is known to have written in concert with *Jonſon*, *Fletcher*, *Maſſinger*, and *Rowley*; but appears to have been unacquainted, or at leaſt unconnected, with *Shakſpeare*.

It is true that the date of THE WITCH cannot be aſcertained. The author, however, in his dedication (*to the truelie-worthie and generouſly-affected Thomas Holmes, Eſquire,*) obſerves, that he *recovered this ignorant ill-fated labour of his* (from the playhouſe, I ſuppoſe,) *not without much diffieultie. Witches* (continues he) *are, ipſo facto, by the law condemn'd, and that onely, I thinck, hath made her lie ſo long in an impriſon'd obſcuritie.* It is probable, therefore, from theſe words, as well as from the title-page, that the play was written *long* * before the dedication, which ſeems to have been added ſoon after the year 1603, when the act of King James againſt witches paſſed into a law. If it be objected, that THE WITCH appears from this title-page to have been acted only by *his* majeſty's ſervants, let it be remembered that theſe were the very players who had been before in the ſervice of the *Queen*; but *Middleton*, dedicating his work in the time of *James*, ſpeaks of them only as dependants on the reigning prince.

Here too it may be remarked, that the firſt dramatick piece in which *Middleton* is known to have had a hand, viz. *The Old Law*, was acted in 1599; ſo that THE WITCH might have been compoſed, if not performed at an earlier period † than the acceſſion of *James* to the crown; for the belief of witchcraft was ſufficiently popular in the preceding reigns. The piece in queſtion might likewiſe have been neglected through the caprice of players, or retarded till it could be known that *James* would permit

* That dramatick pieces were ſometimes written *long* before they were printed, may be proved from the example of Marlowe's *Rich Jew of Malta*, which was entered on the books of the Stationers' Company in the year 1594, but was not publiſhed till 1633, as we learn from the preface to it written by *Heywood*. It appears likewiſe from the ſame regiſters, that ſeveral plays were written, that were never publiſhed at all. STEEVENS.

† The ſpelling in the MS. is ſometimes more antiquated than any to be met with in the printed copies of *Shakſpeare*, as the following inſtances may prove:—*Bin* for *been*—*ſollempnely* for *ſolemnly*—*damnnation* for *damnation*—*aught* for *oute*—*geriard* for *griſtle*—*doa* for *doe*—*allyff* for *olive*, &c. STEEVENS.

then in the poſſeſſion of the managers of the Globe theatre. The high reputation of Shakſpeare's performances (to mention a circumſtance which in the courſe of theſe obſervations will be more than once inſiſted upon) likewiſe ſtrengthens this conjecture;

ſuch repreſentations; (for on his arrival here, both authors and actors who ſhould have ventured to bring the midnight mirth and jollity of witches on the ſtage, would probably have been indicted as favourers of magick and enchantment:) or, it might have ſhrunk into obſcurity after the appearance of *Macbeth*; or perhaps was forbidden by the command of the king. The witches of Shakſpeare (excluſive of the flattering circumſtance to which their propheſy alludes) are ſolemn in their operations, and therefore behaved in conformity to his majeſty's own opinions. On the contrary, the hags of *Middleton* are ludicrous in their conduct, and leſſen, by ridiculous combinations of images, the ſolemnity of that magick in which our ſceptered perſecutor of old women moſt reverently and potently believed.

The concluſion to *Middleton's* dedication, has likewiſe a degree of ſingularity that deſerves notice,—"For your ſake alone, ſhe hath thus conjur'd herſelf abroad; and bears no other charmes about her, but what may tend to your recreation; nor no other ſpell, but to poſſeſs you with a belief, that as ſhe, ſo he, that *firſt* taught her to enchant, will alwaies be," &c.—"He that taught her to enchant," would have ſufficiently expreſſed the obvious meaning of the writer, without aid from the word *firſt*, which ſeems to imply a covert cenſure on ſome perſon who had engaged his *Hecate* in a *ſecondary* courſe of witchcraft.

The reader muſt have inferred from the ſpecimen of incantation already given, that this MS. play (which was purchaſed by *Major Pearſon* out of the collection of *Benjamin Griffin*, the player, and is in all probability the preſentation copy) had indubitably paſſed through the hands of *Sir William D'Avenant*; for almoſt all the additions which he pretends to have made to the ſcenes of witchcraft in *Macbeth* (together with the names of the ſupplemental agents) are adopted from *Middleton*. It was not the intereſt, therefore, of *Sir William*, that this piece ſhould ever appear in print: but time that makes more important diſcoveries, has likewiſe brought his petty plagiariſm to light.*

* Sir William D'Avenant might likewiſe have formed his play of *Albovine King of Lombardy* on ſome of the tragick ſcenes in this unpubliſhed piece by

for it is very improbable, that Middleton, or any other poet of that time, ſhould have ventured into thoſe regions of fiction, in which our author had *already* expatiated:

> " —Shakſpeare's magick could not *copied* be,
> " Within that circle none durſt walk but he."

Other pieces of equal antiquity may, perhaps, be hereafter diſcovered; for the names of ſeveral ancient plays are preſerved, which are not known to have been ever printed. Thus we hear of *Valentine and Orſon, plaied by her Majeſties players*,—The tragedy of *Ninus and Semiramis*,—*Titirus and Galathea*,—*Godfrey of Bulloigne*,—*The Cradle of Securitie*,—*Hit the Naile o'the Head*,—*Sir Thomas More*—(Harl. MS. 7,368,) *The Iſle of Dogs*, by Thomas Naſhe,—The comedy of *Fidele and Fortunatus*,—The famous tragedy of *The Deſtruction of Jeruſalem*, by Dr. Legge,—*The Freeman's Honour*, by William Smith,—*Mahomet and Irene, the Faire Greek*,—*The Play of the Cards*,—*Cardenio*,—*The Knaves*,—*The Knot of Fools*,—*Raymond Duke of Lyons*,—*The Nobleman*, by Cyril Tourneur,—[the laſt five, acted in the year 1613,] *The honoured Loves*,—*The Parliament of Love*,—and *Nonſuch*, a comedy; all by William Rowley;—*The Pilgrimage to Parnaſſus*, by the author of *The Return from Par-*

I ſhould remark, that *Sir W. D.* has corrupted ſeveral words as well as proper names in the ſongs, &c. but it were needleſs to particularize his miſtakes, as this entire tragi-comedy will hereafter be publiſhed for the ſatisfaction of the curious and intelligent readers of *Shakſpeare*. STEEVENS.

Middleton. Yet the chief circumſtances on which they are both founded, occur in the fourth volume of the *Hiſtoires Tragiques, &c. par François de Belle-forest*, 1580, p. 297, and at the beginning of Machiavel's *Florentine Hiſtory*. STEEVENS.

naſſus,—*Believe as you liſt*, by Maſſinger,—*The Pirate*, by Davenport,—*Roſania or Love's Victory*, a comedy by Shirley, (ſome of whoſe plays were extant in MS. in Langbaine's time,)—*The Twins*, a tragedy, acted in 1613,—*Tancredo*, a tragedy, by by Sir Henry Wotton,—*Demetrius and Marſina, or the imperial Impoſtor and unhappy Heroine*, a tragedy,—*The Tyrant*, a tragedy,—*The Queen of Corſica*,—*The Bugbears*,—*The Second Maid's Tragedy*,—*Timon*, a comedy,—*Cataline's Conſpiracy*, a tragedy,—and *Captain Mario*, a comedy, both by Stephen Goſſon,—*The True Hiſtorie of George Scanderbeg*, as played by the right hon. the Earl of Oxenforde's ſervants,—*Jane Shore*,—*The Bold Beauchamps*,—*The Second Part of Sir John Oldcaſtle*,—*The General*,—*The Toy*,—*The Tell-tale*,* a comedy,—*The Woman's Plot*,—*The Woman's too hard for Him*, [both acted at court in 1621,]—*The Love-ſick Maid*, [acted at court in 1629,]—*Fulgius and Lucrelle*,—*The Fool Transformed*, a comedy,—*The Hiſtory of Lewis the Eleventh, King of France*, a tragi-comedy,—*The Chaſte Woman againſt her Will*, a comedy,—*The Tooth-Drawer*, a comedy,—*Honour in the End*, a comedy,—*The Hiſtory of Don Quixote, or the Knight of the ill-favoured Countenance*, a comedy,—*The Fair Spaniſh Captive*, a tragi-comedy,—The tragedy of *Heildebrand*,—*Love yields to Honour*,—*The Noble Friend*, &c. &c. Soon after the Reſtoration, one Kirkman, a bookſeller, printed many dramatick pieces that had remained unpubliſhed for more than ſixty years; and

* The perſons repreſented in this play (which is in my poſſeſſion) are—Duke; Fidelio; Aſpero; Hortenſio; Borgias; Piccntio; Count Gilmond; Ferneſe; Bentivoglio; Colmo; Julio; Captain; Lieutenant; Ancient; two Doctors; an Ambaſſador; Victoria; Eleanor; Iſabel; Leſbia.—Scene, Florence.

in an advertiſement ſubjoined to "*A true, perfect, and exact catalogue of all the comedies, tragedies, &c. that were ever yet printed and publiſhed, till this preſent year*, 1671," he ſays, that although there were, at that time but eight hundred and ſix plays in print, yet many more had been written and acted, and that "he himſelf had *ſome quantity in manuſcript*."—The reſemblance between *Macbeth* and this newly diſcovered piece by Middleton, naturally ſuggeſts a wiſh, that if any of the unpubliſhed plays, above enumerated, be yet in being, (beſide *The Second Maid's Tragedy*, *The Tell-tale*, *Timon*, and *Sir Thomas More*, which are well known to be extant,) their poſſeſſors would condeſcend to examine them with attention; as hence, perhaps, new lights might be thrown on others of our author's plays.

It has been already ſuggeſted, that it is probable our author, about the time of his compoſing *Cymbeline* and *Macbeth*, devoted ſome part of his leiſure to the reading of the lives of Cæſar and Antony in North's tranſlation of Plutarch. In the play before us there are two paſſages which countenance that conjecture. "Under him, ſays Macbeth,

> "My genius is rebuk'd, as, it is ſaid,
> "Mark Antony's was by Cæſar."

The alluſion here is to a paſſage in the Life of Antony; where Shakſpeare alſo found an account of "the inſane root that takes the reaſon priſoner," which he has introduced in *Macbeth*.

A paſſage in the 8th Book of Daniel's *Civil Wars* ſeems to have been formed on one in this tragedy.[1]

[1] See Vol. X. p. 71, n. 9.

The ſeventh and eighth Books of Daniel's poem were firſt printed in 1609.

29. Julius Cæsar, 1607.

A tragedy on the ſubject, and with the title, of *Julius Cæſar*, written by Mr. William Alexander, who was afterwards Earl of Sterline, was printed in the year 1607. This, I imagine, was prior to our author's performance, which was not entered at Stationers' Hall, nor printed, till 1623. Shakſpeare, we know, formed at leaſt twelve plays on fables that had been unſucceſsfully managed by other poets;[2] but no contemporary writer was daring enough to enter the liſts with him, in his life-time, or to model into a drama a ſubject which had already employed his pen: and it is not likely that Lord Sterline, who was then a very young man, and had ſcarcely unlearned the Scottiſh idiom, ſhould have been more hardy than any other poet of that age.

I am aware, it may be objected, that this writer might have formed a drama on this ſtory, not knowing that Shakſpeare had previouſly compoſed the tragedy of *Julius Cæſar*; and that, therefore, the publication of Mr. Alexander's play in 1607, is no proof that our author's performance did not then exiſt.—In anſwer to this objection, it may, perhaps, be ſufficient to obſerve, that Mr. Alexander had, before that year, very wiſely left the bleak fields of Menſtrie in Clackmananſhire, for a warmer and more courtly reſidence in London, having been appointed gentleman of the privy chamber

[2] See a note on *Julius Cæſar*, Act I. ſc. i. in which they are enumerated.

to prince Henry: in which ſituation his literary curioſity muſt have been gratified by the earlieſt notice of the productions of his brother dramatiſts.

Lord Sterline's *Julius Cæſar*, though not printed till 1607, might have been written a year or two before; and perhaps its publication in that year was in conſequence of our author's play on the ſame ſubject being then firſt exhibited. The ſame obſervation may be made with reſpect to an anonymous performance, called *The Tragedy of Cæſar and Pompey, or Cæſar's Revenge*,[3] of which an edition (I believe the ſecond) was likewiſe printed in 1607. The ſubject of that piece is the defeat of Pompey at Pharſalia, the death of Julius, and the final overthrow of Brutus and Caſſius at Philippi. The attention of the town being, perhaps, drawn to the hiſtory of the *hook-noſed fellow of Rome*, by the exhibition of Shakſpeare's *Julius Cæſar*, the bookſellers, who printed theſe two plays, might have flattered themſelves with the hope of an expeditious ſale for them at that time, eſpecially, as Shakſpeare's play was not then publiſhed.

It does not appear that Lord Sterline's *Julius Cæſar* was ever acted: neither it nor his other plays being at all calculated for dramatick exhibition. On the other hand, Shakſpeare's *Julius Cæſar* was a very popular piece; as we learn from Digges, a contemporary writer, who, in his commendatory verſes prefixed to our author's works, has allu-

[3] There is an edition without date, which probably was the firſt. This play, as appears by the title-page, was privately acted by the ſtudents of Trinity College in Oxford. In the running title it is called *The Tragedy of Julius Cæſar*; perhaps the better to impoſe it on the publick for the performance of Shakſpeare.

ded to it as one of his moſt celebrated performances.[4]

We have certain proof that *Antony and Cleopatra* was compoſed before the middle of the year 1608. An attentive review of that play and *Julius Cæſar*, will, I think, lead us to conclude that this latter was firſt written.[5] Not to inſiſt on the chronology

[4] "Nor fire nor cank'ring age, as Naſo ſaid
"Of his, thy wit-fraught book ſhall once invade:
"Nor ſhall I e'er believe or think thee dead,
"(Though miſs'd) untill our bankrout ſtage be ſped
"(Impoſſible!) with ſome new ſtrain, t'out do
"Paſſions of *Juliet* and her *Romeo*;
"Or till I hear a ſcene *more nobly take*
"*Than when thy half-ſword parlying Romans ſpake.*"
Verſes by L. Digges, prefixed to the firſt edition of our author's plays, in 1623.

[5] The following paſſages in *Antony and Cleopatra*, (and others of the ſame kind may perhaps be found,) ſeem to me to diſcover ſuch a knowledge of the appropriated characters of the perſons exhibited in *Julius Cæſar*, and of the events there dilated and enlarged upon, as Shakſpeare would neceſſarily have acquired from having previouſly written a play on that ſubject:
"*Pompey*.—I do not know
"Wherefore my father ſhould revengers want,
"Having a ſon and friends, ſince *Julius Cæſar*,
"*Who at Philippi the good Brutus ghoſted*,
"There ſaw you labouring for him. What was't,
"That mov'd *pale* Caſſius to conſpire? And what
"Made thee, *all-honour'd, honeſt, Roman Brutus*,
"With the arm'd reſt, courtiers of beauteous freedom,
"To drench the capitol, but that they would
"Have one man but a man?"
So, in another place:
"When Antony found Julius Cæſar dead,
"He cry'd almoſt to roaring; and he wept,
"When at Philippi he found Brutus ſlain."
Again:
"*Ant.* [illegible] Philippi kept
"His [illegible]n like a dancer, while I ſtruck
"The [illegible] *wrinkled* Caſſius; and 'twas I
"That the *mad* Brutus ended."

of the ſtory, which would naturally ſuggeſt this ſubject to our author before the other, in *Julius Cæſar* Shakſpeare does not ſeem to have been thoroughly poſſeſſed of Antony's character. He has indeed marked one or two of the ſtriking features of it, but Antony is not fully delineated till he appears in that play which takes its name from him and Cleopatra. The rough ſketch would naturally precede the finiſhed picture.

Shakſpeare's making the *capitol* the ſcene of Cæſar's murder, contrary to the truth of hiſtory, is eaſily accounted for, in *Hamlet*, where it afforded an opportunity for introducing a quibble; but it is not eaſy to conjecture why in *Julius Cæſar* he ſhould have departed from Plutarch, where it is expreſsly ſaid that Julius was killed in *Pompey's portico*, whoſe ſtatue was placed in the centre. I ſuſpect he was led into this deviation from hiſtory by ſome former play on the ſubject, the frequent repetition of which before his own play was written probably induced him to inſert theſe lines in his tragedy:

> "——How many ages hence
> "Shall this our lofty ſcene be *acted* o'er,
> "In ſtates unborn, and accents yet unknown!
> "How many times," &c.

"The accents yet unknown" could not allude to Dr. Eedes's *Latin* play exhibited in 1582, and therefore may be fairly urged as a preſumptive proof that there had been ſome Engliſh play on this ſubject previous to that of Shakſpeare. Hence I ſuppoſe it was, that in his earlier performance he makes Polonius ſay that in his youth he had *enacted* the part of the Roman Dictator, and had been killed by Brutus in the capitol; a ſcenick exhi-

bition which was then probably familiar to the greater part of the audience.

From a paſſage in the comedy of *Every Woman in her Humour*, which was printed in 1609, we learn, that there was an ancient droll or puppet-ſhew on the ſubject of Julius Cæſar. "I have ſeen (ſays one of the perſonages in that comedy,) *the City of Nineveh* and *Julius Cæſar* acted by mammets." I formerly ſuppoſed that this droll was formed on the play before us: but have lately obſerved that it is mentioned with other "motions," (*Jonas*, *Ninevie*, and *the Deſtruction of Jeruſalem*,) in Marſton's *Dutch Courteſan*, printed in 1605, and was probably of a much older date.

In the prologue to *The Falſe One*, by Beaumont and Fletcher, this play is alluded to;[6] but in what year that tragedy was written, is unknown.

If the date of *The Maid's Tragedy* by the ſame authors, were aſcertained, it might throw ſome light on the preſent inquiry; the quarrelling ſcene between Melantius and his friend, being manifeſtly copied from a ſimilar ſcene in *Julius Cæſar*. It has already been obſerved that *Philaſter* was the firſt play which brought Beaumont and Fletcher into reputation, and that it probably was repreſented in 1608 or 1609. We may therefore preſume that the *Maid's Tragedy* did not appear before that year;

[6] "New titles warrant not a play for new,
"The ſubject being old; and 'tis as true,
"Faith and neat matter may with eaſe be fram'd
"Out of their ſtories that have oft been nam'd
"With glory on the ſtage. What borrows he
"From him that wrought old Priam's tragedy,
"That writes his love for Hecuba? Sure to tell
"Of Cæſar's amorous heats, and *how he fell*
"*In the Capitol*, can never be the ſame
"To the judicious." Prologue to *The Falſe One*.

for we cannot ſuppoſe it to have been one of the unſucceſsful pieces which preceded *Philaſter*. That the *Maid's Tragedy* was written before 1611, is aſcertained by a MS. play, now extant, entitled *The* SECOND *Maid's Tragedy*, which was licenſed by Sir George Buck, on the 31ſt of October, 1611. I believe it never was printed.[7]

If, therefore, we fix the date of the original *Maid's Tragedy* in 1610, it agrees ſufficiently well with that here aſſigned to *Julius Cæſar*.

It appears by the papers of the late Mr. George Vertue, that a play called *Cæſar's Tragedy* was acted at court before the 10th of April, in the year 1613. This was probably Shakſpeare's *Julius Cæſar*, it being much the faſhion at that time to alter the titles of his plays.

30. ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, 1608.

Antony and Cleopatra was entered on the Stationers' books, May 2, 1608; but was not printed till 1623.

In Ben Jonſon's *Silent Woman*, Act IV. ſc. iv. 1609, this play ſeems to be alluded to:

"*Moroſe*. Nay, I would fit out a play that were nothing but *fights at ſea*, drum, trumpet, and target."

[7] This tragedy (as I learn from a MS. of Mr. Oldys) was formerly in the poſſeſſion of John Warburton, Eſq. Somerſet Herald, and is now in the library of the Marquis of Landſdown. It had no author's name to it, when it was licenſed, but was afterwards aſcribed to George Chapman, whoſe name is eraſed by another hand, and that of *Shakſpeare* inſerted.

31. Timon of Athens, 1609.

32. Coriolanus, 1610.

Theſe two plays were neither entered in the books of the Stationers' Company, nor printed, till 1623. Shakſpeare, in the courſe of ſomewhat more than twenty years, having produced thirty-four or thirty-five dramas, we may preſume that he was not idle any one year of that time. Moſt of his *other* plays have been attributed, on plauſible grounds at leaſt, to *former years*. As we have no proof to aſcertain when the two plays under our conſideration were written, it ſeems reaſonable to aſcribe them to that period, to which we are not led by any particular circumſtance to attribute any other of his works; at which, it is ſuppoſed, he had not ceaſed to write; which yet, unleſs theſe pieces were then compoſed, muſt, for aught that now appears, have been unemployed. When once he had availed himſelf of North's Plutarch, and had thrown any one of the lives into a dramatick form, he probably found it ſo eaſy as to induce him to proceed, till he had exhauſted all the ſubjects which he imagined that book would afford. Hence the four plays of *Julius Cæſar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Timon*, and *Coriolanus*, are ſuppoſed to have been written in ſucceſſion. At the time he was writing *Cymbeline* and *Macbeth* there is reaſon to believe he began to ſtudy Plutarch with a particular view to the uſe he might make of it on the ſtage.[a] The Lives of Cæſar and Antony

[a] See p. 335, and p. 348.

are nearly connected with each other, and furniſhed him with the fables of two plays; and in the latter of theſe lives he found the ſubject of a third, *Timon of Athens.*

There is a MS. comedy now extant, on the ſubject of *Timon*, which, from the hand-writing and the ſtyle, appears to be of the age of Shakſpeare. In this piece a ſteward is introduced, under the name of *Laches*, who, like Flavius in that of our author, endeavours to reſtrain his maſter's profuſion, and faithfully attends him when he is forſaken by all his other followers.—Here too a mock-banquet is given by Timon to his falſe friends; but, inſtead of warm water, ſtones painted like artichokes are ſerved up, which he throws at his gueſts. From a line in Shakſpeare's play, one might be tempted to think that ſomething of this ſort was introduced by him; though, through the omiſſion of a marginal direction in the only ancient copy of this piece, it has not been cuſtomary to exhibit it:

> "*2d Senator.* Lord Timon's mad.
> "*3d Sen.* I feel it on my bones.
> "*4th Sen.* One day he gives us diamonds, next day *ſtones.*"

This comedy (which is evidently the production of a ſcholar, many lines of Greek being introduced into it,) appears to have been written after Ben Jonſon's *Every Man out of his Humour*, (1599,) to which it contains a reference; but I have not diſcovered the preciſe time when it was compoſed. If it were aſcertained, it might be ſome guide to

us in fixing the date of our author's *Timon of Athens*, which, on the grounds that have been already ſtated,* I ſuppoſe to have been poſterior to this anonymous play.

The great plagues of 1593 and 1603 muſt have made ſuch an impreſſion upon Shakſpeare, that no inference can be ſafely drawn from that dreadful malady, being more than once alluded to in *Timon of Athens*. However, it is *poſſible* that the following paſſages were ſuggeſted by the more immediate recollection of the plague which raged in 1609.

"I thank them," ſays Timon, "and would ſend them back the plague, could I but catch it for them."

Again:

"Be as a planetary *plague*, when Jove
"Will o'er ſome *high-vic'd city* hang his poiſon
"In the ſick air."

Cominius, in the panegyrick which he pronounces on Coriolanus, ſays,

"——In the brunt of ſeventeen battles ſince
"He *lurch'd* all ſwords *of the garland*."

In Ben Jonſon's *Silent Woman*, Act V. ſc. laſt, we find (as Mr. Steevens has obſerved) the ſame phraſeology: "You have *lurch'd* your friends of the better half of *the garland*."

I formerly thought this a ſneer at Shakſpeare; but have lately met with nearly the ſame phraſe in a pamphlet written by Thomas Naſhe, and ſuppoſe it to have been a common phraſe of that time.

* Page 348.

This play is aſcertained to have been written after the publication of Camden's *Remaines*, in 1605, by a ſpeech of Menenius in the firſt Act, in which he endeavours to convince the ſeditious populace of their unreaſonableneſs by the well-known apologue of the members of the body rebelling againſt the belly. This tale Shakſpeare certainly found in the Life of Coriolanus as tranſlated by North, and in general he has followed it as it is there given: but the ſame tale is alſo told of Adrian the Fourth by Camden, in his *Remaines*, p. 199, under the head of *Wiſe Speeches*, with more particularity; and one or two of the expreſſions, as well as the enumeration of the functions performed by each of the members of the body, appear to have been taken from that book.

"On a time," ſays Menenius in *Plutarch*, "all the members of a man's body dyd rebel againſt the bellie, complaining of it that it only remained in the mideſt of the bodie without doing any thing, neither dyd bear any labour to the maintenaunce of the reſt; whereas all other partes and members dyd labour paynefully, and was veri careful to ſatisfy the appetites and deſiers of the bodie. And ſo the bellie, all this notwithſtanding, laughed at their follie, and ſayde, it is true, I firſt receyve all meates that noriſhe mans bodie; but afterwardes I ſend it againe to the noriſhment of other partes of the ſame. Even ſo (q^d. he) o you, my maſters and citizens of Rome," &c.

In Camden the tale runs thus: "All the members of the body conſpired againſt the ſtomach, as againſt the *ſwallowing gulfe* of all their labours; for whereas *the eies beheld, the eares heard, the handes laboured, the feete travelled, the tongue ſpake, and all partes performed their functions*; onely the ſto-

mache lay ydle and conſumed all. Hereuppon they joyntly agreed al to forbeare their labours, and to pine away their lazie and publike enemy. One day paſſed over, the ſecond followed very tedious, but the third day was ſo grievous to them all, that they called a common counſel. The eyes waxed dimme, the feete could not ſupport the body; the armes waxed lazie, the tongue faltered, and could not lay open the matter. Therefore they all with one accord deſired the *advice* of the *heart*. There *Reaſon* layd open before them," &c.

So, Shakſpeare:

" There was a time when all the body's members
" Rebell'd againſt the belly; thus accus'd it:—
" That only *like a gulph* it did remain
" In the midſt of the body, idle and unactive,
" Still cupboarding the viand, never bearing
" Like labour with the reſt; where the other inſtruments
" Did *ſee* and *hear*, *deviſe*, *inſtruct*, *walk*, *feel*,
" And mutually participate did minister
" Unto the appetite and affection common
" Of the whole body. The belly anſwered—
" True it is, my incorporate friends, quoth he,
" That I receive the general food at firſt;—
" ——————But, if you do remember,
" I ſend it through the rivers of the blood,
" Even to the court, *the heart*, *to the ſeat o' the brain*."

The heart is called by one of the citizens, " the *counſellor*-heart;" and in making the *counſellor*-heart the ſeat of the brain or underſtanding, where *Reaſon* ſits enthroned, Shakſpeare has certainly followed Camden.

The late date which I have aſſigned to *Coriolanus*, derives likewiſe ſome ſupport from Volumnia's exhortation to her ſon, whom ſhe adviſes to addreſs the Roman people—

" —— now humble as the *ripeſt mulberry*,
" Which cannot bear the handling."

In a preceding page I have obſerved that mulberries were not much known in England before the year 1609. Some *few* mulberry-trees however had been brought from France and planted before that period, and Shakſpeare, we find, had ſeen ſome of the fruit in a ſtate of maturity before he wrote *Coriolanus*.[1]

33. OTHELLO, 1611.

Dr. Warburton thinks that there is in this tragedy a ſatirical alluſion to the inſtitution of the order of Baronets, which dignity was created by King James I. in the year 1611:

" ——— The hearts of old gave hands,
" But our new heraldry is hands, not hearts."
Othello, Act III. ſc. iv.

" Amongſt their other prerogatives of honour," (ſays that commentator,) " they [the new-created baronets] had an addition to their paternal arms, of an hand *gules* in an eſcutcheon argent. And we are not to doubt but that this was *the new heraldry* alluded to by our author; by which he inſinuates,

[1] I have ſome doubts concerning the concluding remark on the date of this play. The tree which is fit for breeding ſilk-worms, is the *white* mulberry, of which great numbers were imported into England in the year 1609; but *perhaps* we had the other ſpecies, which produces the beſt fruit, before that time. If that was the caſe, my hypotheſis concerning the time when our poet planted the celebrated mulberry tree, may be controverted. *Valeat quantum valere poſſit.*

that ſome then created had hands indeed, but not hearts; that is, money to pay for the creation, but no virtue to purchaſe the honour."

Such is the obſervation of this critick. But by what chymiſtry can the ſenſe which he has affixed to this paſſage, be extracted from it? Or is it probable, that Shakſpeare, who has more than once condeſcended to be the encomiaſt of the unworthy founder of the order of Baronets, who had been perſonally honoured by a letter from his majeſty, and ſubſtantially benefited by the royal licence granted to him and his fellow-comedians, ſhould have been ſo impolitick, as to ſatirize the king, or to depretiate his new-created dignity?

Theſe lines appear to me to afford an obvious meaning, without ſuppoſing them to contain ſuch a multitude of alluſions:

Of old, (ſays Othello,) *in matrimonial alliances, the heart dictated the union of hands; but our modern junctions are thoſe of hands, not of hearts.*

On every marriage the arms of the wife are *united* to thoſe of the huſband. This circumſtance, I believe, it was, that ſuggeſted *heraldry*, in this place, to our author. I know not whether a heart was ever uſed as an armorial enſign, nor is it, I conceive, neceſſary to inquire. It was the office of the herald to *join*, or, to ſpeak technically, to *quarter* the arms of the new-married pair.[2] Hence, with his uſual licence, Shakſpeare uſes *heraldry* for *junction*, or *union* in general. Thus, in his *Rape of Lucrece*, the ſame term is employed to denote the *union* of colours which conſtitutes a beautiful complexion:

[2] "I may *quarter*, coz," ſays *Slender* in *The Merry Wives of Windſor*. "You may (replies Juſtice Shallow) by *marrying*."

" This *heraldry* in Lucrece' face was ſeen,
" Argued by beauty's red, and virtue's white."

This paſſage not affording us any aſſiſtance, we are next to conſider one in *The Alchemiſt*, by Ben Jonſon, which, if it alluded to an incident in *Othello*, (as Mr. Steevens ſeems to think it does,) would aſcertain this play to have appeared before 1610, in which year *The Alchemiſt* was firſt acted:

" *Lovewit.* Didſt thou hear a cry, ſay'ſt thou?
" *Neighb.* Yes, ſir, like unto a man that had been ſtrangled an hour, and could not ſpeak."

But I doubt whether *Othello* was here in Jonſon's contemplation. Old Ben generally ſpoke out; and if he had intended to ſneer at the manner of Deſdemona's death, I think, he would have taken care that his meaning ſhould not be miſſed, and would have written—" like unto a *woman*," &c.

This tragedy was not entered on the books of the Stationers' Company till Oct. 6, 1621, nor printed till the following year; but it was acted at court early in the year 1613.[1] How long before that time it had appeared, I have not been able to aſcertain, either from the play itſelf, or from any contemporary production. I have, however, perſuaded myſelf that it was one of Shakſpeare's lateſt performances: a ſuppoſition, to which the acknowledged excellence of the piece gives ſome degree of probability. It is here attributed to the year 1611, becauſe Dr. Warburton's comment on the paſſage above cited may convince others, though, I confeſs, it does not ſatisfy me.

Emilia and *Lodovico*, two of the characters in

[1] MS. Vertue.

this play, are likewiſe two of the perſons repreſented in *May-Day*, a comedy by Chapman, firſt printed in 1611.

34. The Tempest, 1612.

Though ſome account of the Bermuda Iſlands, which are mentioned in this play, had been publiſhed in 1600, (as Dr. Farmer has obſerved,) yet as they were not generally known till Sir George Somers arrived there in 1609, *The Tempeſt* may be fairly attributed to a period ſubſequent to that year: eſpecially as it exhibits ſuch ſtrong internal marks of having been a late production.

The entry at Stationers' Hall does not contribute to aſcertain the time of its compoſition; for it appears not on the Stationers' books, nor was it printed, till 1623, when it was publiſhed with the reſt of our author's plays in folio: in which edition, having, I ſuppoſe by mere accident, obtained the firſt place, it has ever ſince preſerved a ſtation to which indubitably it is not entitled.[4]

As the circumſtance from which this piece receives its name, is at an end in the very firſt ſcene, and as many other titles, equally proper, might have occurred to Shakſpeare, (ſuch as *The Inchanted Iſland*,—*The baniſhed Duke*,—*Ferdinand and Miranda*, &c.) it is poſſible, that ſome particular and recent event determined to call it *The Tempeſt*. It appears from Stowe's *Chronicle*, p. 913, that in the October, November, and December of the year 1612, a dreadful tempeſt happened in England, "*which did exceeding great damage, with ex-*

[4] See p. 333, article, *Cymbeline*.

treme ſhipwrack throughout the ocean."—"*There periſhed*" (ſays the hiſtorian) "*above an hundred ſhips in the ſpace of two houres.*"—Several pamphlets were publiſhed on this occaſion, decorated with prints of ſinking veſſels, *caſtles toppling on their warders' heads*, the devil overturning ſteeples, &c. In one of them, the author deſcribing the appearance of the waves at Dover, ſays, "*the whole ſeas appeared like a fiery world, all ſparkling red.*" Another of theſe narratives recounts the eſcape of Edmond Pet, a ſailor; whoſe preſervation appears to have been no leſs marvellous than that of Trinculo or Stephano; and ſo great a terror did this tempeſt create in the minds of the people, that a form of prayer was ordered on the occaſion, which is annexed to one of the publications above mentioned.

There is reaſon to believe that ſome of our author's dramas obtained their names from the ſeaſons at which they were produced. It is not very eaſy to account for the title of *Twelfth Night*, but by ſuppoſing it to have been firſt exhibited in the Chriſtmas holydays.[5] Neither the title of *A Midſummer Night's Dream*, nor that of *The Winter's Tale*, denotes the ſeaſon of the action; the events which are the ſubject of the latter, occurring at the time of ſheep-ſhearing, and the dream, from

[5] It was formerly an eſtabliſhed cuſtom to have plays repreſented at court in the Chriſtmas holydays, and particularly on *Twelfth Night*. Two of Lyly's comedies (*Alexander and Campaſpe*, 1584, and *Mydas*, 1592,) are ſaid in their title-pages, to have been *played beſoore the queenes majeſtie on Twelfe-day at night*; and ſeveral of Ben Jonſon's maſques were preſented at Whitehall, on the ſame feſtival. Our author's *Love's Labour's Loſt* was exhibited before Queen Elizabeth in the Chriſtmas holydays; and his *King Lear* was acted before King James on St. Stephen's night; the night after Chriſtmas-day.

which the former receives its name, happening on the night preceding May-day.—Theſe titles, therefore, were probably ſuggeſted by the ſeaſon at which the plays were exhibited, to which they belong; *A Midſummer Night's Dream* having, we may preſume, been firſt repreſented in June, and *The Winter's Tale* in December.

Perhaps then it may not be thought a very improbable conjecture, that this comedy was written in the ſummer of 1612, and produced on the ſtage in the latter end of that year; and that the author availed himſelf of a circumſtance then freſh in the minds of his audience, by fixing a title to it, which was more likely to excite curioſity than any other that he could have choſen, while at the ſame time it was ſufficiently juſtified by the ſubject of the drama.

Mr. Steevens, in his obſervations on this play, has quoted from the tragedy of *Darius* by the Earl of Sterline, firſt printed in 1603, ſome lines[6] ſo

[6] " Let greatneſs of her glaſſy ſceptres vaunt,
" Not ſcepters, no but reeds, ſoon bruis'd, ſoon broken,
" And let this worldly pomp our wits [illegible]
" *All fades, and ſcarcely leaves* [illegible] *token.*
" Thoſe golden *palaces*, thoſe *gorg*[illegible]
" With furniture ſuperfluouſly [illegible]
" Thoſe ſtately courts, thoſe *ſky-enc*[illegible]*ng* wa[illegible]
" *Evaniſh all like vapours in the a*[illegible]
Darius, Act III. edit. 1603.

" ——————Theſe our actors,
" As I foretold you, were all ſpirits, and
" *Are melted into air, into thin air*;
" And, like the baſeleſs fabrick of this viſion,
" The *cloud-capt* tow'rs, the *gorgeous palaces*,
" The ſolemn temples, the great globe itſelf,
" Yea, all which it inherit, ſhall diſſolve,
" And, [illegible] this unſubſtantial pageant *faded*
" [illegible] *a rack behind.*" *Tempeſt*, Act IV. ſc. i.

ſtrongly reſembling a celebrated paſſage in *The Tempeſt*, that one author muſt, I apprehend, have been indebted to the other. Shakſpeare, I imagine, borrowed from Lord Sterline.[7]

Mr. Holt conjectured,[8] that the maſque in the fifth Act of this comedy was intended by the poet as a compliment to the Earl of Eſſex, on his being united in wedlock, in 1611, to Lady Frances Howard, to whom he had been contracted ſome years before.[9] However this might have been, the date which that commentator has aſſigned to this play, (1614,) is certainly too late; for it appears from the MSS. of Mr. Vertue, that the *Tempeſt* was acted by John Heminge and the reſt of the King's Company, before prince Charles, the lady Elizabeth, and the prince Palatine elector, in the beginning of the year 1613.

The names of Trinculo and Antonio, two of the characters in this comedy, are likewiſe found in that of *Albumazar*; which was printed in 1614, but is ſuppoſed by Dryden to have appeared ſome years before.

Ben Jonſon probably meant to ſneer at this play in the prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*, firſt printed in 1616, and probably written a few years before:

> "——— nor *tempeſtuous* drum
> "Rumble to tell you when *the ſtorm* will come."

[7] See note on *Julius Cæſar*, Act I. ſc. i.

[8] Obſervations on *The Tempeſt*, p. 67. Mr. Holt imagined, that Lord Eſſex was united to Lady Frances Howard in 1610; but he was miſtaken: for their union did not take place till the next year.

[9] Jan. 5, 1606-7. The Earl continued abroad four years from that time; ſo that he did not cohabit with his wife till 161[illegible]

In the Induction to his *Bartholomew Fair* he has endeavoured to depreciate this beautiful comedy by calling it a *foolery*. Dryden, however, informs us that it was a very popular play at Blackfriars, but unluckily has not ſaid a word relative to the time of its firſt repreſentation there, though he might certainly have received information on that ſubject from Sir William D'Avenant.

The only note of time which I have obſerved in this play, is in Act II. ſc. ii: "——when they [the Engliſh] will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to ſee a dead Indian." This probably alludes to ſome recent circumſtance with which I am unacquainted.

35. Twelfth-Night, 1614.

It has been generally believed, that Shakſpeare retired from the theatre, and ceaſed to write, about three years before he died. The latter ſuppoſition muſt now be conſidered as extremely doubtful; for Mr. Tyrwhitt, with great probability, conjectures, that *Twelfth-Night* was written in 1614: grounding his opinion on an alluſion,[1] which it ſeems to contain, to thoſe parliamentary *undertakers* of whom frequent mention is made in the Journals of the Houſe of Commons for that year;[2] who were ſtigmatized with the invidious name, on account of their having *undertaken* to manage the elections of knights and burgeſſes in ſuch a manner as to ſecure a majority in parliament for the court. If

[1] "Nay, if you be *an undertaker*, I am for you." See *Twelfth-Night*, Act IV. ſc. iii. and the note there.

[2] *Comm. Journ.* Vol. I. p. 456, 457, 470.

this alluſion was intended, *Twelfth-Night* was probably our author's laſt production; and, we may preſume, was written after he had retired to Stratford. It is obſervable that Mr. Aſhley, a member of the Houſe of Commons, in one of the debates on this ſubject, ſays, "that the rumour concerning theſe *undertakers* had ſpread into the *country*."

When Shakſpeare quitted London and his profeſſion, for the tranquillity of a rural retirement, it is improbable that ſuch an excurſive genius ſhould have been immediately reconciled to a ſtate of mental inactivity. It is more natural to conceive, that he ſhould have occaſionally bent his thoughts towards the theatre, which his muſe had ſupported, and the intereſt of his aſſociates whom he had left behind him to ſtruggle with the capricious viciſſitudes of publick taſte, and whom, his laſt Will ſhows us, he had not forgotten. To the neceſſity, therefore, of literary amuſement to every cultivated mind, or to the dictates of friendſhip, or to both theſe incentives, we are perhaps indebted for the comedy of *Twelfth-Night*; which bears evident marks of having been compoſed at leiſure, as moſt of the characters that it contains are finiſhed to a higher degree of dramatick perfection, than is diſcoverable in ſome of our author's earlier comick performances.[1]

In the third Act of this comedy, Decker's *Weſtward Hoe* ſeems to be alluded to. *Weſtward Hoe* was printed in 1607, and from the prologue to *Eaſtward Hoe* appears to have been acted in 1604, or before.

[1] The comedies particularly alluded to, are, *A Midſummer-Night's Dream*, *The Comedy of Errors*, *Love's Labour's Loſt*, and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

Maria, in *Twelfth-Night*, ſpeaking of Malvolio, ſays, "he does ſmile his face into more lines than the *new* map with the augmentation of the Indies." I have not been able to learn the date of the map here alluded to; but, as it is ſpoken of as a *recent* publication, it may, when diſcovered, ſerve to aſcertain the date of this play more exactly.

The comedy of *What you will*, (the ſecond title of the play now before us,) which was entered at Stationers' Hall, Aug. 9, 1607, was certainly *Marſton's* play, as it was *printed* in that year for T. Thorpe, by whom the above mentioned entry was made; and it appears to have been the *general* practice of the bookſellers at that time, *recently before publication*, to enter thoſe plays of which they had procured copies.

Twelfth-Night was not regiſtered on the Stationers' books, nor printed till 1623.

It has been thought, that Ben Jonſon intended to ridicule the conduct of this play, in his *Every Man out of his Humour*, at the end of Act III. ſc. vi. where he makes Mitis ſay,—"That the argument of his comedy might have been of ſome other nature, as of a duke to be in love with a counteſs, and that counteſs to be in love with the duke's ſon, and the ſon in love with the lady's waiting-maid: *ſome ſuch croſs wooing, with a clown to their ſerving-man*, better than be thus near and familiarly allied to the time."[4]

I do not, however, believe, that Jonſon had here *Twelfth-Night* in contemplation. If an alluſion to this comedy were intended, it would aſcertain it to have been written before 1599, when *Every Man out of his Humour* was firſt acted. But Meres

[4] See the firſt note on *Twelfth-Night*, Act I. ſc. i.

does not mention *Twelfth-Night* in 1598, nor is there any reaſon to believe that it then exiſted.

"Mrs. Mall's picture," which is mentioned in this play, probably means the picture of Moll Cutpurſe, who was born in 1585, and made much noiſe in London about the year 1611.

The Sophy of Perſia is twice mentioned in *Twelfth-Night*. 1. "I will not give my part of this ſport for a penſion of thouſands to be paid by *the Sophy*." 2. "He pays you as ſure as your feet hit the ground you ſtep on. They ſay he has been fencer to *the Sophy*."

When Shakſpeare wrote the firſt of theſe paſſages, he was perhaps thinking of Sir Robert Shirley, "who," ſays Stowe's Continuator, "after having ſerved the Sophy of Perſia for ten years as general of artillerie, and married the Lady Tereſa, whoſe ſiſter was one of the queens of Perſia, arrived in England as ambaſſador from the *Sophy* in 1612. After ſtaying one year he and his wife returned to Perſia, (Jan. 1612-13,) leaving a ſon, to whom the queen was godmother, and Prince Henry godfather."

Camden's account agrees with this, for according to him Sir Robert Shirley came to England on his embaſſy, June 26, 1612: but both the accounts are erroneous: for Sir Robert Shirley certainly arrived in London as ambaſſador from the Sophy in 1611, as appears from a letter written by him to Henry Prince of Wales, dated Nov. 4, 1611, requeſting the prince to be god-father to his ſon.[5] Sir Robert, and his Perſian lady, at this time made much noiſe; and Shakſpeare,

[5] MSS. Harl. 7008.

it is highly probable, here alludes to the magnificence which he diſplayed during his ſtay in England, out of the funds allotted to him by the emperor of Perſia. He remained in England about eighteen months.

If the dates here aſſigned to our author's plays ſhould not, in every inſtance, bring with them conviction of their propriety, let it be remembered, that this is a ſubject on which conviction cannot at this day be obtained; and that the obſervations now ſubmitted to the publick, do not pretend to any higher title than that of "AN ATTEMPT to aſcertain the Chronology of the Dramas of Shakſpeare."

Should the errors and deficiencies of this eſſay invite others to deeper and more ſucceſsful reſearches, the end propoſed by it will be attained: and he who offers the preſent arrangement of Shakſpeare's dramas, will be happy to transfer the ſlender portion of credit that may reſult from the novelty of his undertaking, to ſome future claimant, who may be ſupplied with ampler materials and endued with a ſuperior degree of antiquarian ſagacity.

To ſome, he is not unapprized, this inquiry will appear a tedious and barren ſpeculation. But there are many, it is hoped, who think nothing which relates to the brighteſt ornament of the Engliſh nation, wholly unintereſting; who will be gratified by obſerving, how the genius of our great poet gradually expanded itſelf, till, like his own Ariel, *it flamed amazement* in every quarter, blazing forth

with a luſtre, that has not hitherto been equalled, and probably will never be ſurpaſſed.[6] MALONE.

[6] In the liſt of plays enumerated (p. 345,) by Mr. Malone as unpubliſhed, he might have excepted two more of them which ſtill remain in manuſcript, viz. *The Queen of Corſica* and *The Bugbears*, both alſo in the poſſeſſion of the Marquis of Lanſdowne. The following is the liſt of plays formerly in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Warburton, copied from his MS. in the poſſeſſion of the ſame nobleman:

" *The honourable Loves*, by Will. Rowley.
" *Henry the Firſt*, by Will. Shakeſpear and Robert Davenport.
" *The fair Favourite.*
" *Minerva's Sacrifice.* Phill. Maſſinger.
" *Duke Humphrey.* Will. Shakeſpear.
" *Citty Shuffler.*
" Sir John Suckling's Workes.
" *Nothing impoſſible to Love.* T. P. Sir Rob. le Greece.
" *The forc'd Lady.* T. Phill. Maſſinger.
" *The Governor.* T. Sir Corn. Formido.
" *The Lovers of Loodgate.*
" *The flying Voice*, by R. Wood.
" *The Mayden's Holaday*, by Chriſt. Marlowe.
" *The Puritan Maid, the modeſt Wife, and the wanton Widow*, by Tho. Middleton.
" *The London Merchant*, a Comedy, by Jo. Ford.
" *The King of Swedland.**
" *Love hath found out his Eyes*, by Tho. Jorden.
" *Antonio and Vallia*, by Phill. Maſſinger.
" *The Dutcheſs of Fernandina.* T. Henry Glapthorne.
" *Jocondo and Aſiolfo*, by Tho. Decker.
" *St. George for England*, by Will. Smithe.
" *The Parliament of Love*, by Wm. Rowley.
" *The Widow's Priſe.* C. Will. Sampſon.
" *The inconſtant Lady.* Wm. Wilſon.
" *The Woman's Plott.* Phill. Maſſinger.
" *The crafty Marſhall.* C. Shack. Marmion.
" An Interlude, by Ra. Wood. (worth nothing.)
" *The Tyrant*, a Tragedy, by Phill. Maſſinger.
" *The Noneſuch*, a C. Wm. Rowley.
" *The Royal Combate.* C. By Jo. Forde.

* Query, if not Dekker's *King of Swethland*, entered on the Stationers' books June 29, 1600.

" *Philenzo and Hipolito.* C. Phill. Maſſinger.
" *Beauty in a Trance,* Mr. Jo. Forde.
" *The Judge.* C. By Phill. Maſſinger.
" *A good Beginning may have a good End,* by Jo. Forde.
" *Faſt and welcome,* by Phill. Maſſinger.
" *Believe as you liſt.* C. By Phill. Maſſinger.
" *Hiſt. of Jobe,* by Robt. Green.
" *The Veſtall,* a Tragedy, by H. Glapthorne.
" *Yorkſhire Gentlewoman and her Sons.*
" *The Honour of Women.* C. by P. Maſſinger.
" *The noble Choice.* T. C. P. Maſſinger.
" A Maſk. R. Govell.
" *Second Maiden's Tragedy.* George Chapman.
" *The Great Man.*
" *The Spaniſh Puechas.* C.
" *The Queen of Corſica.* T. By F. Jaques.
" *The Tragedy of Jobe.* (Good.)
" *The Nobleman.* T. C. Cyrill Tourneur.
" A Play by Will. Shakſpeare.
" *Bugbears.* C. Jo. Geffrey.
" *Orpheus.* C.
" *'Tis good ſleeping in a whole Skin.* W. Wager.
" *Fairy Queen.*

" After I had been many years collecting theſe MS. plays, through my own careleſsneſs and the ignorance of my ſervant in whoſe hands I had lodged them, they were unluckily burn'd, or put under pye-bottoms, excepting the three which follow :
" *Second Maiden's Tragedy.*
" *Bugbears.*
" *Queen of Corſica.** J. Warburton."

Since the foregoing elaborate, and, for the moſt part, ſatisfactory reſult of a laborious enquiry was laſt publiſhed, the order of the plays of Shakſpeare, as ſettled by Mr. Malone, has been controverted by Mr. Chalmers, who has formed a new arrangement; and in ſupport of it has produced his evidence and aſſigned his reaſons. To theſe (being too long to be here inſerted) the reader is referred for farther ſatisfaction. On a ſubject which both parties admit does not pretend to the certainties of demonſtration, a difference of opinion may be expected. Time, reſearch, and accident may yet bring to light evidence to confirm or confute either party's ſtatement. The arrangement of Mr. Malone being already before the reader it will be neceſſary to add that of Mr. Chalmers; and that a judgment may be formed

* Now in the poſſeſſion of the Marquis of Lanſdowne.

which claims the preference, both lists are subjoined. The first is by Mr. Chalmers, the second by Mr. Malone.

1.	The Comedy of Errors	1591 —	1593
2.	Love's Labour's Loft	1592 —	1594
3.	Romeo and Juliet	1592 —	1595
4.	Henry VI. the Firft Part	1593 —	1589
5.	Henry VI. the Second Part	1595 —	1591
6.	Henry VI. the Third Part	1595 —	1591
7.	The Two Gentlemen of Verona	1595 —	1595
8.	Richard III.	1595 —	1597
9.	Richard II.	1596 —	1597
10.	The Merry Wives of Windfor	1596 —	1601
11.	Henry IV. the Firft Part	1596 —	1597
12.	Henry IV. the Second Part	1597 —	1598
13.	Henry V.	1597 —	1599
14.	The Merchant of Venice	1597 —	1598
15.	Hamlet	1597 —	1596
16.	King John	1598 —	1596
17.	A Midfummer-Night's Dream	1598 —	1592
18.	The Taming of the Shrew	1598 —	1594
19.	All's Well that Ends Well	1599 —	1598
20.	Much Ado about Nothing	1599 —	1600
21.	As You Like It	1599 —	1600
22.	Troilus and Creffida	1600 —	1602
23.	Timon of Athens	1601 —	1609
24.	The Winter's Tale	1601 —	1604
25.	Meafure for Meafure	1604 —	1603
26.	Lear	1605 —	1605
27.	Cymbeline	1606 —	1605
28.	Macbeth	1606 —	1606
29.	Julius Cæfar	1607 —	1607
30.	Anthony and Cleopatra	1608 —	1608
31.	Coriolanus	1609 —	1610
32.	The Tempeft	1613 —	1612
33.	The Twelfth-Night	1613 —	1614
34.	Henry VIII.	1613 —	1601
35.	Othello	1614 —	1611

See *Supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakſpeare-Papers.* By George Chalmers, F. R. S. A. S. p. 266.

REED.

SHAKSPEARE, FORD, AND JONSON.

——*ubi nulla fugam reperit fallacia, victus,*
In ſeſe redit. VIRG.

I Have long had great doubts concerning the authenticity of the facts mentioned in a letter printed in p. 188, of this Vol. giving a pretended extract from a pamphlet of the laſt age, entitled "Old Ben's *Light Heart* made heavy by young John's *Melancholy Lover*," containing ſome anecdotes of Shakſpeare, Ben Jonſon, and John Ford, the dramatick poet; and ſuſpected that the plauſible tale which the writer of the letter alluded to has told, was an innocent forgery, fabricated for the purpoſe of aiding a benefit, and making the town believe that *The Lover's Melancholy* came from the mint of Shakſpeare. Some additional information on this ſubject, which I have lately obtained, appears to me ſo deciſively to confirm and eſtabliſh my opinion, that I ſhall here, though ſomewhat out of place, devote a few pages to the examination of this queſtion.

Having always thought with indignation on the taſteleſſneſs of the ſcholars of that age in preferring Jonſon to Shakſpeare after the death of the latter, I did not find myſelf much inclined to diſpute the authenticity of a paper, which, in its general tenour, was conformable to my own notions: but the love of truth ought ever to be ſuperior to ſuch conſiderations. Our poet's fame is fixed upon a baſis

as broad and general as the caſing air, and ſtands in no need of ſuch meretricious aids as the pen of fiction may be able to furniſh. However, before I entered on this diſcuſſion, I thought it incumbent on me to apply to Mr. Macklin, the author of the letter in queſtion, upon the ſubject: but his memory is ſo much impaired, (he being now in the ninety-firſt year of his age,) that he ſcarcely recollects having written ſuch a letter, much leſs the circumſtances attending it. I ought, however, to add, that I had ſome converſation with him a few years ago upon the ſame topick, and then ſtrongly urged to him that no kind of diſgrace could attend his owning that this letter was a mere *jeu d'eſprit*, written for an occaſional harmleſs purpoſe: but he perſiſted in aſſerting that the pamphlet of which he has given an account, (for which I in vain offered by a publick advertiſement, continued for ſome time in the newſpapers, to pay two guineas, and of which no copy has been found in any publick or private library in the courſe of forty years,) was once in his poſſeſſion; was printed in quarto, and bound up with ſeveral ſmall political tracts of the ſame period; and was loſt with a large collection of old plays and other books, on the coaſt of Ireland, in the year 1760. I cannot therefore boaſt, *habeo confitentem reum*. However, let the point be tried by thoſe rules of evidence which regulate trials of greater importance; and I make no doubt that I ſhall be able to produce ſuch teſtimony as ſhall convict our veteran comedian of having, ſportively, ingeniouſly, and falſely, (though with no malice afore-thought,) invented and fabricated the narrative given in the letter already mentioned, contrary to the Statute of Biography, and other wholeſome laws of the Parnaſſian Code, in this caſe made

and provided, for the ſecurity of the rights of authors, and the greater certainty and authenticity of dramatick hiſtory.

Nor let our poet's admirers be at all alarmed, or ſhrink from this diſcuſſion; for after this ſlight and temporary fabrick, erected to his honour, ſhall have been demoliſhed, there will ſtill remain abundant proofs of the gentleneſs, modeſty, and humility of Shakſpeare; of the overweening arrogance of old Ben; and of the ridiculous abſurdity of his partizans, who for near a century ſet *above* our great dramatick poet a writer whom no man is now hardy enough to mention as even his competitor.

I muſt premiſe, that the *Lover's Melancholy*, written by John Ford, was *announced* for repreſentation at Drury-lane theatre on Friday the 22d of April, 1748. Mr. Steevens has mentioned that it was performed for *a benefit*; but the perſon for whoſe benefit this play was acted is in the preſent caſe very material: it was performed *for the benefit of Mrs. Macklin*; and conſequently it was the *intereſt* of Mr. Macklin that the entertainment of that night ſhould prove profitable, or in other words that ſuch expectation ſhould be raiſed among the frequenters of the play-houſe as ſhould draw together a numerous audience. Mr. Macklin, who had then been on the ſtage about twenty-five years, was ſufficiently converſant with the arts of puffing, which, though now practiſed with perhaps ſuperior dexterity, have at all times (by whatever name they may have gone) been tolerably well underſtood: and accordingly on Tueſday the 19th of April, three days before the day appointed for his wife's benefit, he inſerted the following letter in *The General* (now *The Publick*) *Advertiſer*,

which appears to have eſcaped the notice of my predeceſſor:

'Sir,

'As *The Lover's Melancholy*, which is to be revived on *Friday* next at the theatre-royal in Drury-Lane, for the benefit of Mrs. Macklin, is a ſcarce play, and in a very few hands, it is hoped, that a ſhort account of the author, his works in general, and of that piece in particular, will not be unacceptable to the publick.'

'John Ford, Eſq. was of the Middle Temple, and though but a young man when Shakſpeare left the ſtage, yet as he lived in ſtrict friendſhip with him till he died, *which appears by ſeveral of Ford's ſonnets and verſes*, it may be ſaid with ſome propriety, that he was a contemporary of that great man's.'

'It is ſaid that he wrote twelve or fourteen dramatick pieces, eight of which only have been collected, viz. *The Broken Heart*, *Love's Sacrifice*, *Perkin Warbeck*, *The Ladies' Trial*, *'Tis Pity ſhe's a Whore*, *The Sun's Darling*, a Maſque, and *The Lover's Melancholy*.'

'Moſt of thoſe pieces have great merit in them, particularly *The Lover's Melancholy*; which in the private opinion of many admirers of the ſtage, is written with an art, eaſe, and dramatick ſpirit, inferior to none before or ſince his time, Shakſpeare excepted.'

'The moral of this play is obvious and laudable; the fable natural, ſimple, intereſting, and perfect in all its parts; the action one and entire; the time twelve hours, and the place a palace.'

'The writing, as the piece is of that ſpecies of the drama, which is neither tragedy, nor comedy,

but a play, is often in familiar, and ſometimes in elevated, proſe, *after the manner of Shakſpeare*; but when his ſubject and characters demand it, he has ſentiment, diction, and flowing numbers, at command.'

'His characters are natural, and well choſen, and ſo diſtinct in manners, ſentiment, and language, that each as he ſpeaks would diſtinctly live in the reader's judgment, without the common help of marginal directions.'

'As Ford was an intimate and a profeſſed admirer of Shakſpeare, it is not to be wondered at, that *he often thinks and expreſſes like him*; which is not his misfortune, but his happineſs; for when he is moſt like Shakſpeare, he is moſt like nature. He does not put you in mind of him like a plagiariſt, or an affected mere imitator; but like a true genius, who had ſtudied under that great man, and could not avoid catching ſome of his divine excellence.'

'This praiſe perhaps by ſome people may be thought too much: of that the praiſer pretends not to be a judge; he only ſpeaks his own feeling, not with an intent to impoſe, but to recommend a treaſure to the publick, that for a century has been buried in obſcurity; which *when they have ſeen*, he flatters himſelf that they will think as well of it as he does; and ſhould that be the caſe, the following verſes, written by Mr. Ford's contemporaries, will ſhew, that neither the preſent publick, nor the letter-writer, are ſingular in their eſteem of *The Lover's Melancholy*.'

"To my honoured friend, Maſter JOHN FORD, on his [excellent play, *The*] [7] *Lover's Melancholy*.

"If thou that think'ſt theſe lines thy worth can raiſe,
"Thou doſt miſtake; my liking is no praiſe:
"Nor can I think thy judgment is ſo ill,
"To ſeek for bays from ſuch a barren quill.
"Let your true critick that can judge and mend,
"Allow thy ſcenes and ſtile: I, as a friend
"That knows thy worth, do only ſtick my name,
"To ſhew my love, not to advance thy fame."

"G. DONNE."

"On [that excellent play] *The Lover's Melancholy*.

"'Tis not the language, nor the fore-plac'd rhimes
"Of friends that ſhall commend to after-times
"*The Lover's Melancholy*; its own worth
"Without a borrow'd praiſe ſhall ſet it forth."

PHILOS.[8]

"Your's, B. B."

How far *The Lover's Melancholy* is entitled to all this high praiſe, it is not my buſineſs at preſent to inquire. I ſhall only obſerve, that this kind of prelude to a benefit play appears at that period to have been a common artifice. For *The Muſes Looking-Glaſs*, an old comedy of Randolph's, being revived for the benefit of Mr. Ryan in 1748, I find

[7] The words within crotchets here and below were interpolated by Mr. Macklin, not being found in the original.

[8] In the original, this ſignature is in Greek characters, Ο φιλος; a language with which Mr. Macklin is unacquainted. In this inſtance therefore he muſt have had the aſſiſtance of ſome more learned friend.

an account of the author, and an high elogium on his works, in the form of a letter, inſerted in the month of March, in the ſame newſpaper.

In the preceding letter it is obſervable, we are only told that the author of *The Lover's Melancholy* lived in the ſtricteſt intimacy with Shakſpeare till he died, *as appears by ſeveral of Ford's Sonnets and Verſes* (which unluckily, however, *are no where to be found*); that the piece is inferior to none written before or ſince, except thoſe of Shakſpeare; that as Ford was an intimate and profeſſed admirer of Shakſpeare, and had ſtudied under him, it is not to be wondered at that it ſhould be written *in his manner*, and that the author ſhould have caught ſome portion of his divine excellence; but no hint is yet given, that *The Lover's Melancholy* had a ſtill higher claim to the attention of the town than being written in Shakſpeare's manner, namely its being ſuppoſed to be compiled from the papers of that great poet, which, after his death, as we ſhall preſently hear, fell into Ford's hands. And yet undoubtedly this valuable piece of information was on Monday the 21ſt day of April, (when this letter appears to have been written,) in Mr. Macklin's poſſeſſion, *if ever he was poſſeſſed of it*; for ſo improbable a circumſtance will not, I ſuppoſe, be urged, as that he found the uncommon pamphlet in which it is ſaid to be contained, between that day and the following Friday.

Judiciouſly as the preceding letter was calculated to attain the end for which it was written, it appears not to have made a ſufficient impreſſion on the publick. All the boxes for Mrs. Macklin's benefit, it ſhould ſeem, were not yet taken; and the town was not quite ſo anxious as might have been expected, to ſee this tranſcendent and incompara-

ble ſecular tragedy; though it was announced in the bills as not having been performed for one hundred years; though its moral, fable, and action, were all perfect and entire; though the time conſumed in the drama was as little as the moſt rigid French critick could exact: and though the audience during the whole repreſentation would enjoy the ſupreme felicity of beholding not a foreſt, an open plain, or a common room, but the inſide of a palace. What then was to be done? An ordinary application having failed, Spaniſh flies are to be tried; for though the publick might not go to ſee a play *written in the manner of Shakſpeare*, they could not be ſo inſenſible as not to have ſome curioſity about a piece, which, if the inſinuations of the author's contemporaries were to be credited, was *actually written by him*; a play, which none of them had ever ſeen repreſented, and very few had read or even heard of. Mr. Barry, a principal performer in this revived tragedy, is very *commodiouſly* taken ill; and the repreſentation, which had been announced for Friday the 22d, is deferred to Thurſday the 28th, of April. Full of the new idea, the letter-writer takes up his pen; but fabricks of this kind are not eaſily conſtructed, ſo as to be ſecure on every ſide from aſſault. However, in three days the whole ſtructure was raiſed; and on Saturday morning the 23d of April appeared in *The General Advertiſer* a Second Eulogy on *The Lover's Melancholy*, which I am now to examine.

This letter of the 23d of April which we are now to conſider, being printed in a foregoing page,[9] the reader can eaſily turn to it. Before, however, I enter upon an examination of its con-

[9] See p. 188.

tents, I will juſt obſerve, that the attention of the publick had been drawn in a peculiar manner to our author's productions by the publication of Dr. Warburton's long expected edition of his plays in the preceding year, and was ſtill more ſtrongly fixed on the ſame object by Mr. Edwards's ingenious *Canons of Criticiſm*, which firſt appeared in the month of April, 1748.

Mr. Macklin begins his ſecond letter with the mention of a pamphlet written in the reign of Charles the Firſt, with this quaint title—"Old Ben's *Light Heart* made heavy by young John's *Melancholy Lover*;" and as this curious pamphlet contains "ſome hiſtorical anecdotes and altercations concerning Ben Jonſon, Ford, Shakſpeare, and *The Lover's Melancholy*," he makes no doubt that a few extracts from it will "*at this juncture*" be acceptable to the publick.

He next obſerves, that Ben Jonſon from great critical language, (*learning*, he ſhould have ſaid,) which was then the portion of but very few, from his merit as a poet, and his aſſociation with men of letters, for a conſiderable time gave laws to the ſtage. That old Ben was ſplenetick, ſour, and envious; too proud of his own works, and too ſevere in his cenſure of thoſe of his contemporaries. That this arrogance raiſed him many enemies, who were particularly offended by the *ſlights* and *malignancies* which the *rigid* Ben threw out againſt the *lowly Shakſpeare*, "whoſe fame, *ſince his death*, as appears by the pamphlet, was grown too great for Ben's envy either to bear with or wound."

To give the whole of theſe invectives, we are then told, would take up too much room; but among other inſtances of Jonſon's ill-nature and ingratitude to Shakſpeare, "who firſt introduced

him to the theatre and to fame," it is ſtated, *from the pamphlet*, that Ben had aſſerted, that Shakſpeare had indeed wit and imagination, but that they were not guided by judgment, being ever ſervile to raiſe the laughter of fools and the wonder of the ignorant; that he had little Latin, and leſs Greek: and the writer of the pamphlet, as a further proof of Ben's malignity, quotes ſome lines from the prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*:

> " To make a child new ſwaddled, to proceed
> " Man, and then ſhoot up, in one beard and weed,
> " Paſt threeſcore years," &c.

which were levelled at ſome of Shakſpeare's plays. The firſt of the lines quoted, and above given, we are told in a note, was pointed at *The Winter's Tale*; but whether this note was furniſhed by the pamphlet, or by the writer of the letter, we are left to conjecture. Whichſoever of theſe we are to ſuppoſe, the fact is undoubtedly not true; for the new-born child introduced in *The Winter's Tale* never does in the courſe of the play ſhoot up *man*, being no other than the lovely Perdita. In the following lines, however, of that prologue, our poet is undoubtedly ſneered at.

So much for Shakſpeare. We are now brought to *The Lover's Melancholy*; the *extraordinary ſucceſs* of which, the pamphlet informs us, wounded Ben the more ſenſibly, as it was brought out on the ſame ſtage, *and in the ſame week*, with his *New Inn*, or *Light Heart*, which was damned; and as Ford, the writer of *The Lover's Melancholy*, was at the head of Shakſpeare's partizans. The ill ſucceſs of the *Light Heart*, we are next told, ſo incenſed Jonſon, that, when he printed his play, he deſcribed it in the title-page, as a comedy *never acted, but moſt*

negligently played by ſome, the king's idle ſervants, and more ſqueamiſhly beheld and cenſured by others, the king's fooliſh ſubjects; and *immediately upon this*, adds the letter-writer, he wrote his famous ode, "Come, leave the loathed ſtage," &c. The revenge which he took on Ford, was, we are told, (from the pamphlet,) the writing an epigram upon him, in which there is an alluſion, as we are informed in a note, to a character in a play of Ford's "which *Ben ſays, Ford ſtole from him.*"

The next information which we derive from this curious pamphlet, is entirely new, no trace of it being found in the preface prefixed by the firſt editors to the folio edition of Shakſpeare's plays in 1623, or in any other book of thoſe times. This curious fact is, that John Ford, in conjunction with our poet's friends, Heminge and Condell, had the reviſal of his papers after his death; and that Ben aſſerted, Ford's *Lover's Melancholy*, by the connivance of his aſſociates in this truſt, was ſtolen from thoſe papers. This malicious charge gave birth, we are told, to many verſes and epigrams, which are ſet forth in the pamphlet, but the letter-writer contents himſelf with producing two copies of theſe verſes only,[1] to one of which is ſubſcribed the name of *Thomas May*, and to the other theſe words: "*Endim. Porter*, the ſuppoſed author of theſe verſes."

Such is the ſubſtance of Mr. Macklin's ſecond letter. Let us now ſeparately examine the parts of which it is compoſed.

The quaint title which the writer of this letter

[1] Of all the ancient poems which Chatterton pretended to have found in the famous Briſtol cheſt, he wiſely produced, I think, but *four*, that he ventured to call originals.

has given to this creature of his own imagination, (for ſo I ſhall now take leave to call the pamphlet,) "Old Ben's *Light Heart* made heavy by young John's *Melancholy Lover*," is, it muſt be acknowledged, moſt happily invented, and is ſo much in the manner of thoſe times, that it for a long time ſtaggered my incredulity, and almoſt convinced me of the authenticity of the piece to which it is ſaid to have been affixed; and not a little, without doubt, did the inventor plume himſelf on ſo fortunate a thought. But how ſhort-ſighted is man! This very title, which the writer thus probably exulted in, and ſuppoſed would ſerve him,

> "———— as a charmed ſhield,
> "And eke enchanted arms that none might pierce,"

is one of the moſt deciſive circumſtances to prove his forgery.

> "Neſcia mens hominum fati, ſortiſque futuræ!
> "Turno tempus erit, magno cum optaverit emptum
> "Intactum Pallanta, et cum ſpolia iſta, diemque
> "Oderit.—
> "———— Pallas te, hoc vulnere, Pallas
> "Immolat, et pœnam ſcelerato ex ſanguine ſumit."

Ben Jonſon was in his own time frequently called the *judicious* Ben, the *learned* Ben, the *immortal* Ben, but had not, I believe, at the time this pamphlet is ſuppoſed to have been publiſhed, obtained the appellation of *Old* Ben. However, as this title was given him ſome years afterwards by Sir John Suckling, in his *Seſſion of the Poets*, which appears to have been written in Auguſt, 1637, about the time of Jonſon's death, (See Stratford's Lett. Vol. II. p. 114,) which celebrated poem, as well as the language of the preſent day, probably ſug-

geſted the combination of *Old Ben* to Mr. Macklin, I ſhall lay no ſtreſs upon this objection. But the other part of the title of this pamphlet—"*Young John's* Melancholy Lover," is very material in the preſent diſquiſition.—John Ford, in the Dedication to his *Lover's Melancholy*, ſays, that was the firſt *play* which he had *printed*; from which the letter-writer concluded that he muſt then have been a young man. In this particular, however, he was egregiouſly miſtaken; for John Ford, who was the ſecond ſon of Thomas Ford, Eſq. was born at Ilſington in Devonſhire, and baptized there April 17, 1586.[2] When he was not yet ſeventeen, he became a member of the Middle Temple, November 16, 1602, as I learn from the Regiſter of that Society; and conſequently in the year 1631, when this pamphlet is ſuppoſed to have been publiſhed, he had no title to the appellation of *young* John, being forty-five years old. And though *The Lover's Melancholy* was the firſt play that he publiſhed, he had produced the Maſque of *The Sun's Darling* on the ſtage five years before, namely, in March, 1623-4; had exhibited one or more plays before that time; and ſo early as in the year 1606 had publiſhed a poem entitled *Fame's Memorial*, of which I have his original preſentation-copy in MS. in my collection. Theſe are facts, of the greater part of which no writer of that time, converſant with dramatick hiſtory, could have been ignorant. Here certainly I might ſafely cloſe the evidence; for Ben Jonſon was born on the 11th of June, 1574,[3]

[2] For this information I am indebted to the Reverend Mr. Palk, Vicar of Ilſington.

[3] According to the beſt accounts. The preciſe year however of this poet's birth has not been aſcertained. Fuller tells us, that

and conſequently in 1631 was in his fifty-ſeventh year; a period of life at which, though not in the

" with all his induſtry he could not find him in his cradle, but that he could fetch him from his long coats;—when a little child, he lived in Hartſhorne-lane near Charing-Croſs." I in vain examined the Regiſter of St. Margaret's, Weſtminſter, and St. Martin's in the Fields, for the time of his baptiſm. There is a *lacuna* in the latter regiſter from February to Dec. 1574. Ben Jonſon therefore was probably born in that year, and he has himſelf told us that he was born on the 11th of June. This agrees with the account given by Anthony Wood, who ſays, that before his death in Auguſt 1637, he had completed his ſixty-third year. I found in the Regiſter of St. Martin's, that a Mrs. Margaret Jonſon was married in November 1575 to Mr. Thomas Fowler. He was perhaps the poet's ſtep-father, who is ſaid to have been a bricklayer.

The greater part of the hiſtory of this poet's life is involved in much confuſion. Moſt of the facts which have been tranſmitted concerning him, were originally told by Anthony Wood; and there is ſcarcely any part of his narrative in which ſome error may not be traced. Thus we are told, that ſoon after his father's death his mother married a bricklayer; that ſhe took her ſon from Weſtminſter-ſchool, and made him work at his ſtep-father's trade. He helped, ſays Fuller, at the building of the new ſtructure in Lincoln's-Inn, where having a trowel in his hand, he had a book in his pocket: and this book Mr. Gildon has found out to be *Horace*. In this ſituation, according to Wood, being pitied by his old maſter, Camden, he was recommended to Sir Walter Raleigh as a tutor to his ſon; and after attending him on his adventures, they parted, on his return, not, as I think, ſays Wood, in cold blood. He *then*, we are told, was admitted into St. John's college in Cambridge, and after a ſhort ſtay there, went to London, and became an actor in the Curtain playhouſe: and ſoon afterwards, " having improved his fancy by keeping ſcholaſtick company, he betook himſelf to writing plays." Laſtly we are told by the ſame writer, on the death of Daniel [in October 1619] " he ſucceeded him as poet-laureat, as Daniel ſucceeded Spenſer."

If Jonſon ever worked with his ſtep-father at his trade in Lincoln's-Inn, it muſt have been either in 1588, or 1593, in each of which years, as I learn from Dugdale's *Origines Juridiciales*, ſome new buildings were erected by that ſociety. He could not have been taken from thence to accompany young Raleigh on

hey-day of the blood, he could with no great propriety be called *Old*, unleſs by way of oppoſition to

his travels, who was not born till 1594, nor even went abroad except with his father in 1617 to Guiana, where he loſt his life. The poet might indeed about the year 1610 or 1611 have been private tutor to him; and it is probable that their connexion was about that time, as Jonſon mentions that he furniſhed Sir Walter Raleigh with a portion of his Hiſtory of the World, on which Sir Walter muſt have been then employed; but if the tutor and the pupil then parted in ill humour, it was rather too late for Jonſon to enter into St. John's college, at the age of thirty-four or thirty-five years.

That at ſome period he was tutor to young Raleigh, is aſcertained by the following anecdote, preſerved in one of Oldys's Manuſcripts:

"Mr. Camden recommended him to Sir Walter Raleigh, who truſted him with the care and education of his eldeſt ſon Walter, a gay ſpark, who could not brook Ben's rigorous treatment, but perceiving one foible in his diſpoſition, made uſe of that to throw off the yoke of his government: and this was an unlucky habit Ben had contracted, through his love of jovial company, of being overtaken with liquor, which Sir Walter did of all vices moſt abominate, and hath moſt exclaimed againſt. One day, when Ben had taken a plentiful doſe, and was fallen into a ſound ſleep, young Raleigh got a great baſket, and a couple of men, who lay'd Ben in it, and then with a pole carried him between their ſhoulders to Sir Walter, telling him, their young maſter had ſent home his tutor."—"This, (adds Mr. Oldys,) I have from a MS. memorandum-book written in the time of the civil wars by Mr. Oldiſworth, who was ſecretary, I think, to Philip earl of Pembroke."

The truth probably is, that he was admitted into St. John's college as a fizar in 1588, at which time he was fourteen years old, (the uſual time then of going to the Univerſity,) and after ſtaying there a few weeks was obliged from poverty to return to his father's trade; with whom he might have been employed on the buildings in Lincoln's Inn in 1593, when he was nineteen. Not being able to endure his ſituation, he went, as he himſelf told Mr. Drummond of Hawthornden, to the Low Countries, where he ſerved a campaign, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the field. On his return, perhaps in 1594, being now uſed to a life of adventure, he probably began his theatrical career, as a ſtrolling player, and after having "rambled for ſome time by a play-waggon in the country," repaired to London, and endeavoured

a *very young* man. But no ſuch difference of age ſubſiſted between theſe two poets. If a man of

at the Curtain to obtain a livelihood as an actor, till, as Decker informs us, "not being able to ſet a *good face* upon't, he could not get a ſervice among the mimicks."

Between that year and 1598, when *Every Man in his Humour* was acted, he probably produced thoſe unſucceſsful pieces which Wood mentions. It is remarkable that Meres in that year enumerates Jonſon among the writers of *tragedy*, though no tragedy of his writing, of ſo early a date, is now extant: a fact which none of his biographers have noticed.

Some particulars relative to this poet, which I have lately learned, will ſerve to diſprove another of the facts mentioned by Wood; namely, that "he ſucceeded Daniel as poet-laureat, [in October, 1619,] as Daniel did Spenſer." I do not believe that any ſuch office as poet-laureat exiſted in the time of Queen Elizabeth, and conſequently Spenſer never could have poſſeſſed it; nor has any proof whatſoever been produced of Daniel's having ever enjoyed that office.

Spenſer, we are told by Camden, died in great poverty in 1598, and ſuch has been the prevailing opinion ever ſince; but a fact which I have lately diſcovered, and which has not been noticed by any writer of that great poet's life, renders Camden's aſſertion very diſputable. Spenſer, I find, in February, 1590-1, obtained from Queen Elizabeth an annuity or penſion of fifty pounds a year, during his life; which, the value of money and the modes of life being jointly conſidered, may be eſtimated as equal to two hundred pounds a year at this day. We ſee, therefore, that the incenſe laviſhed on his parſimonious miſtreſs in the *Faery Queen*, which was publiſhed in the preceding year,* did not paſs unrewarded, as all our biographical writers have ſuppoſed. The firſt notice I obtained of this grant, was from a ſhort abſtract of it in the Signet-office, and with a view to aſcertain whether he was deſcribed as poet-laureat, I afterwards examined the patent itſelf, (*Patent Roll*, 33 Eliz. P. 3.) but no office or official duty is there mentioned. After the uſual and formal preamble, *pro diverſis cauſis et conſiderationibus*, &c. the words are, "*damus et concedimus* dilecto ſubdito noſtro, *Edmundo Spenſer*," &c.

King James by letters patent dated February 3, 1615-16, granted to Ben Jonſon an annuity or yearly penſion of one hun-

* *The Faery Queen* was entered on the Stationers' books by W. Ponſonby, in December, 1589.

fifty-ſeven is to be accounted old, the man of forty-five is not young.

dred marks, during his life, "*in* conſideration of the good and acceptable ſervice heretofore done, and hereafter to be done, by the ſaid B. J." Then, therefore, and not in 1619, undoubtedly it was that he was made poet-laureat, if ever he was ſo conſtituted; but not one word is there in the grant, which I examined in the chapel of the Rolls, touching that office: unleſs it may be ſuppoſed to be comprehended in the words which I have juſt quoted. On the 23d of April, 1630, King Charles by letters patent, reciting the former grant, and that it had been ſurrendered, was pleaſed, "in conſideration (ſays the patent) of the good and acceptable ſervice done unto us and our ſaid father by the ſaid B. J. and eſpecially to encourage him to proceed in thoſe ſervices of his wit and pen, which we have enjoined unto him, and which we expect from him, to augment his annuity of one hundred marks, to one hundred pounds *per ann.* during his life, payable from Chriſtmas, 1629, and the firſt payment to commence at Lady-day, 1630." Charles at the ſame time granted him a tierce of Canary Spaniſh wine yearly during his life, out of his majeſty's cellars at Whitehall: of which there is no mention in the former grant. From hence, and from the preſent of one hundred pounds ſent to Jonſon by the King in 1629, we may ſee how extremely improbable the ſtory is, which has been recorded, on I know not what authority, and which Dr. Smollet was idle enough to inſert in his Hiſtory; that Ben in that year, being reduced to great diſtreſs, and living in an obſcure alley, petitioned his Majeſty to aſſiſt him in his poverty and ſickneſs; and on receiving ten guineas, ſaid to the meſſenger who brought him the donation, "his majeſty has ſent me ten guineas, becauſe I am poor and live in an alley; go and tell him, that his ſoul lives in an alley."

None of his biographers appear to have known, that Ben Jonſon obtained from King James a reverſionary grant of the office of Maſter of the Revels. His Majeſty by letters patent dated October 5, in the nineteenth year of his reign, (1621,) granted him, by the name and addition of "our beloved ſervant, Benjamin Jonſon, *gentleman*," the ſaid office, to be held and enjoyed by him and his aſſigns, during his life, from and after the death of Sir George Buck and Sir John Aſtley, or as ſoon as the office ſhould become vacant by reſignation, forfeiture, or ſurrender: but Jonſon never derived any advantage from this grant, becauſe Sir John Aſtley ſurvived him. It ſhould ſeem from a paſſage in the *Satiromaſtix* of his antagoniſt Decker,

The next ſuſpicious circumſtance in the letter which we are now examining, is, that in the pretended extracts from this old pamphlet moſt of the circumſtances mentioned might have been collected by a modern writer from books of either thoſe or ſubſequent times: and ſuch *new* facts as are mentioned, can be proved to be fictions. Such of the pretended extracts as are true, are old; and ſuch as are new, are falſe. Thus, to take the former claſs firſt, we are informed, (as from the pamphlet,) that our poet and Jonſon were at variance; that old Ben took every means of depreciating the lowly Shakſpeare; that he aſſerted our poet had little Latin, and leſs Greek, and did not underſtand the dramatick laws;[4] that Jonſon ridiculed

printed in 1602, that Ben had made ſome attempt to obtain a reverſionary grant of this place before the death of Queen Elizabeth: for *Sir Vaughan* in that piece ſays to *Horace* [i. e. Jonſon,] "I have ſome coſſens-german at court ſhall beget you the *reverſion* of the *Maſter of the King's Revels*, or elſe to be his Lord of Miſrule nowe at Chriſtmas."

It has been commonly underſtood, that on Ben Jonſon's death in Auguſt, 1637, Sir William D'Avenant [then Mr. D'Avenant] was appointed poet-laureate in his room: but he at that time received no favour from the crown. Sixteen months afterwards, Dec. 13, 1638, in the 14th year of Charles the Firſt, letters patent paſſed the great ſeal, granting, "in conſideration of ſervice heretofore done and hereafter to be done by William Davenant, gentleman," an annuity of one hundred pounds *per ann.* to the ſaid W. D. *during his majeſty's pleaſure.* By this patent, no Canary wine was granted; and no mention is made of the office of poet-laureate. It is at preſent conferred, not by letters patent, but by a warrant ſigned and ſealed by the Lord Chamberlain, nominating A. B. to the office, with the accuſtomed fees thereunto belonging.

[4] Which Ben claimed the merit of having firſt taught his contemporaries. See his Verſes to his old ſervant Richard Brome, prefixed to *The Northern Laſs*, which was firſt acted in July, 1629:

ſome of his pieces; and that this was a ſtrong proof of his ingratitude: Shakſpeare having firſt introduced him to the ſtage.—All theſe facts Mr. M. might have learned from Rowe's Life of Shakſpeare, and Pope's Preface to his edition; from Dr. Birch's Life of Ben Jonſon publiſhed in 1743; from Drummond of Hawthornden's Converſation with that poet; from the old play entitled *The Return from Parnaſſus*; from Fuller's *Worthies*, Winſtanley, and Langbaine; from Jonſon's own verſes on Shakſpeare prefixed to all the editions; from his prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*; from his *Bartholomew Fair* and his *Diſcoveries*; and from many other books. In Mr. Pope's preface was found that praiſe, that in our poet's plays every ſpeech might be aſſigned to its proper ſpeaker without the aid of marginal directions: an encomium which perhaps is too high, even when applied to Shakſpeare; but which, when applied to Ford, (as it is in Mr. Macklin's *firſt* letter,) becomes ridiculous.

Let us now conſider the *new* facts, which for the firſt time are given to the publick from this rare old tract. The firſt new fact ſtated is, that Shakſpeare's fame, *after his death*, grew too great for Ben either to bear with or wound. Now this was ſo far from being the caſe, that it was at this particular period that Jonſon's pieces, which were collected into a volume in 1616, appear to have been in moſt eſtimation; and from the time of Shakſpeare's death to the year 1625, both Ben's

> "Now you are got into a nearer room
> "Of fellowſhip, profeſſing my old arts,
> "And you do do them well, with good applauſe;
> "Which you have juſtly gained from the ſtage,
> "By obſervation of thoſe *comick laws*
> "*Which I*, your maſter, *firſt did teach the age*."

ſame, and that of Fletcher, ſeem to have been at their height. In this period Fletcher produced near thirty plays, which were acted with applauſe; and Jonſon was during the whole of that time well received in the courts of James and Charles, for each of whom he wrote ſeveral Maſques, which the wretched taſte of that age very highly eſtimated; and was patronized and extravagantly extolled by the ſcholars of the time, as much ſuperior to Shakſpeare. In this period alſo he produced his *Devil's an Aſs*, and his *Staple of News*, each of which had ſome ſhare of ſucceſs. In the year 1631, indeed he was extremely indigent and diſtreſſed, and had been ſo from the year 1625, when I think he was ſtruck with the palſy; but in conſequence of this indigence and diſtreſs he was not preciſely at that period an object of jealouſy to the partizans of Shakſpeare.

Another and a very material falſe fact ſtated from this pamphlet is, that Jonſon's *New Inn or Light Heart*, and Ford's *Melancholy Lover*, were produced for the firſt time on the ſame ſtage, in *the ſame week*: a fact concerning which the writer of the pamphlet, *if the pamphlet had any real exiſtence*, could ſcarcely have been miſtaken.

Theſe two plays were certainly repreſented for the firſt time at *the ſame theatre*, namely, Blackfriars, as Mr. Macklin learned from their reſpective title-pages; but not in the ſame *week*, there being no leſs than *two months* interval between the production of the two pieces.

Ford's play was exhibited at the Blackfriars on the 24th of November, 1628, when it was licenſed for the ſtage, as appears from the Office-book of Sir Henry Herbert, Maſter of the Revels to King Charles the Firſt, a manuſcript now before me, of

which a more particular account may be found in Vol. III. [*Hiſtorical Account of the Engliſh Stage*, &c.]; and Jonſon's *New Inn* on the 19th of January in the following year, 1628-9. Very ſoon indeed after the ill ſucceſs of Jonſon's piece, the King's Company brought out at the ſame theatre a new play called *The Love-ſick Maid, or the Honour of young Ladies*, which was licenſed by Sir Henry Herbert on the 9th of February, 1628-9, and acted with extraordinary applauſe. This play, which was written by Jonſon's own ſervant, Richard Brome, was ſo popular, that the managers of the King's Company, on the 10th of March, preſented the Maſter of the Revels with the ſum of two pounds, "on the good ſucceſs of *The Honour of Ladies*;" the only inſtance I have met with of ſuch a compliment being paid him. No mention whatſoever is made of *The Lover's Melancholy* having been attended with any extraordinary ſucceſs, though Mr. M. from private motives choſe to repreſent it as having been acted with uncommon applauſe.

We are next told, that Ben was ſo exaſperated by the damnation of his piece, that he printed it with a very ſingular title-page, which is given; and that *immediately upon this* he wrote his celebrated Ode, "Come, leave the loathed ſtage," &c. It is not very clear what the letter-writer means by the words, *immediately upon this*. If he means that Jonſon wrote his Ode immediately after his play was damned in 1629, the aſſertion is made at random; if he means that immediately after he had publiſhed his play he wrote his ode, the fact is not true. The ode is printed at the end of the play, which was publiſhed in April, 1631.

The next new fact found in this curious pamphlet is, that Ben Jonſon, mortified by his own

defeat and the ſucceſs which Ford's play obtained, wrote the following Epigram upon his ſucceſsful competitor:

" PLAYWRIGHT, by chance, hearing ſome toys I had writ,
" Cry'd to my face, they were th' elixir of wit;
" And I muſt now believe him, for to-day
" Five of my jeſts, then ſtolne, paſs'd him a play."

This epigram, I own, is ſo much in the manner of the time, and particularly of Ben Jonſon, that for a long time I knew not how to queſtion its authenticity. It is ſo ſtrongly marked, that every poetical reader muſt immediately exclaim, *aut Eraſmus, aut diabolus.* Nor indeed is it to be wondered at that it is much in Ben's manner; for,—not to keep the reader longer in ſuſpence, it *was written* by him.—Well then, ſays the writer of the letter in queſtion, here you have a ſtrong confirmation of all the other facts which you affect to doubt, and every impartial judge muſt acquit me of having fabricated them. This, however, we ſhall find a *non ſequitur*: for this very epigram, though written by Jonſon, is as deciſive a proof of impoſition as any other which I have produced. The fact is, this epigram, addreſſed to PLAYWRIGHT, is found among Jonſon's printed poems, as are two others addreſſed to the ſame perſon.[5] Mr. M. I

[5] See Jonſon's Works, folio, 1616:

Epig. XLIX.

To PLAYWRIGHT.

" PLAYWRIGHT me reades, and ſtill my verſes damnes;
" He ſayes, I want the tongue of epigrammes;
" I have no ſalt, no bawdrie he doth meane,
" For wittie, in his language, is obſcene.

ſuppoſe, was poſſeſſed only of the modern edition of Jonſon's Works printed in 8vo. in 1716, and, no dates being aſſigned to the *poems*, thought he might ſafely make free with this epigram, and affix the date of the year 1630, or 1631, to it; but unluckily it was publiſhed by old Ben himſelf fourteen or fifteen years before, in the firſt folio collection of his works in 1616, and conſequently could not have any relation to a literary altercation between him and Ford at the time *The New Inn* and *The Lover's Melancholy* were brought on the ſcene. It appears from Ben Jonſon's Dedication of his Epigrams to Lord Pembroke, that moſt of them, though publiſhed in 1616, were written ſome years before;[6] the epigram in queſtion, therefore, may be referred to a ſtill earlier period than the time of its publication.

" PLAYWRIGHT, I loath to have thy manners knowne
" In my chaſte booke: profeſſe them in thine owne."

Epig. LXVIII.

On PLAYWRIGHT.

" PLAYWRIGHT, convict of publick wrongs to men,
" Takes private beatings, and begins againe.
" Two kindes of valour he doth ſhew at ones,
" Active in his braine, and paſſive in his bones."

The perſon aimed at, under the name of *Playwright*, was probably Decker.

[6] " I here offer to your lordſhip the *ripeſt* of my ſtudies, my epigrammes, which, though they carry danger in the ſound, do not therefore ſeek your ſhelter. For *when I made them*, I had nothing in my conſcience, to expreſſing of which I did need a cypher. But if I be falne into *thoſe times*, wherein, for the likeneſs of vice," &c.

On one of the lines in this epigram, as exhibited by Mr. Macklin,

"Five of my jeſts, then ſtolne, paſs'd him a play."

we find the following note:—"Alluding to a character in *The Ladies' Trial*, which Ben ſays Ford ſtole from him." If the writer of this letter had ſaid, "Alluding to a character in *The Ladies' Trial*, which Ford ſtole from Ben Jonſon," we might ſuppoſe him only miſtaken; and this anachroniſm (ſuppoſing that the epigram had been written in 1631) might not affect the preſent queſtion. But we are told, "*Ben* ſays ſo." He certainly has not ſaid ſo in his works, and therefore the letter-writer muſt mean, that it is aſſerted in the pamphlet from which he pretended to quote, that Ben had ſaid ſo. But Ben could not poſſibly have ſaid ſo, even if he had written this epigram at the time to which it has been falſely aſcribed; for this plain reaſon, that *The Ladies' Trial* was not produced till ſeveral years afterwards. It was firſt printed in 1639, two years after Ben Jonſon's death, and does not appear to have been licenſed by Sir Henry Herbert before that time.[7] The origin of this note, by which *confuſion is worſe confounded*, was probably this: Langbaine, under the article, *Fletcher*, mentions that a ſcene in his *Love's Pilgrimage* was *ſtollen* from the very play of which we have been ſpeaking; Jonſon's *New Inn*. This ſcene Fletcher himſelf could not have ſtollen from

[7] One of the leaves of Sir Henry Herbert's Manuſcript, which was miſſing, having been recovered ſince this page was printed, I find that *The Ladies Trial* was performed for the firſt time at the Cockpit theatre in May, 1638, on the 3d of which month it was licenſed by the Maſter of the Revels.

The New Inn, for he was dead ſome years before that play appeared; but Shirley, who had the reviſal of ſome of thoſe pieces which were left imperfect by Fletcher, (as appears from Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book,[8]) finding *The New Inn* unſucceſsful, took the liberty to borrow a ſcene from it, which he inſerted in *Love's Pilgrimage*, when that play was revived, or as Sir Henry Herbert calls it, *renewed*, in 1635.[9] Mr. M. had

[8] In Sir Henry Herbert's Office-book is the following entry: "For a play of Fletcher's, *corrected by Shirley*, called *The Night Walkers*, the 11th of May, 1633,—£.2 0 0.

[9] "Received of Blagrove from the King's Company, for the *renewing* of *Love's Pilgrimage*, the 10th of September, 1635, —£.1 0 0." *Ibidem.*

The addition of a new ſcene, and ſometimes an entire act, to an old play, appears from the following entries in the ſame book to have been common:

"For the adding of a ſcene to *The Virgin Martyr*, this 7th July, 1624,—£.0 10 0."

"For allowing of a new act in an ould play, this 13th May, 1629,—£.0 10 0."

"For allowing of an ould play, new written or forbiſht by Mr. Biſton, the 12th of January, 1631,—£.1 0 0."

"An ould play, with ſome new ſcenes, *Doctor Lambe and the Witches*, to Saliſbury Courte, the 16th Auguſt, 1634,—£.1 0 0."

"Received of ould Cartwright for allowing the [Fortune] company to add ſcenes to an ould play, and to give it out for a new one, this 12th of May, 1636,—£.1 0 0."

This practice prevailed in Shakſpeare's time. "The players," ſays Lupton, in his *London and the Country carbonadoed and quartered*, 8vo. 1602, "are as crafty with an old play, as bauds with old faces: the one puts on a new freſh colour, the other a new face and name."

If the Office-books of Edmund Tilney, Eſq. and Sir George Buck, who were Maſters of the Revels during the greater part of the reign of King James the Firſt, ſhall ever be diſcovered, I have no doubt that the *Viſion*, *Maſque*, and *Prophecy*, in the fifth Act of *Cymbeline*, will be found to have been interpolated by the players after our poet's death.

probably ſome imperfect recollection of what he had read in Langbaine, and found it convenient to ſubſtitute Ford's play for that of Fletcher.

We are next told, that this pamphlet aſſerts that Ben Jonſon had given out that *The Lover's Melancholy* was not written by Ford, but purloined from Shakſpeare's papers, of which Ford, in conjunction with Heminge and Condell, is ſaid to have had the reviſal, when the firſt folio edition of our poet's works was publiſhed in 1623.

It ſhould not be forgotten, that the writer of this letter had aſſerted in a former letter, that it appears from *ſeveral of Ford's Sonnets and Verſes* that he lived in the ſtricteſt intimacy with Shakſpeare, to the time of his death: and I may confidently add, that there is not the ſmalleſt ground for the aſſertion, no ſuch ſonnets or verſes being extant. We need not, therefore, heſitate to pronounce the preſent aſſertion to be equally unfounded as the former.

After what has been already ſtated, it would be an idle waſte of time to enter into any long diſquiſition on this fiction. It was evidently thrown out to excite the expectation of the town with reſpect to the piece itſelf on the night of performance. The old plays of the minor poets of the laſt age being in 1748 little known or attended to, thoſe who were curious could not eaſily ſatisfy themſelves concerning the merit or demerit of *The Lover's Melancholy* by *reading* it, (it not being republiſhed in Dodſley's Collection,) and therefore would naturally reſort to the theatre to examine whether there was any ground for ſuch an aſſertion: the preciſe end which the letter-writer had in view. When he talked of Shakſpeare's *papers*, he was probably thinking of what Heminge and Condell

have ſaid in their preface,—" we have ſcarce received from him a blot in *his papers*." But by *his papers* they meant nothing more than the old copies of his plays which had lain long in their houſe, from which they printed part of their edition. Whatever other papers our poet left, without doubt devolved to his family at Stratford.

The four encomiaſtick lines ſigned " Thomas May," and the elegant verſes aſcribed to Endymion Porter, now alone remain to be conſidered.

Endymion Porter, whom Sir William D'Avenant, Shakſpeare's ſuppoſed ſon, calls " lord of his muſe and heart," being mentioned by Mr. Rowe in his Life of Shakſpeare, as a great admirer of our poet, his name naturally preſented itſelf to the writer of this letter, as a proper one to be ſubſcribed to an eulogy on him and Ford; and he found, or might have found, in Langbaine's Account of the Dramatick Poets, that May lived in the ſtricteſt intimacy with Endymion Porter, to whom he has dedicated his *Antigone*, publiſhed in 1631; a play which probably, when this letter was written, was in Mr. Macklin's poſſeſſion. Thomas Randolph and Thomas Carew having each of them written verſes to Jonſon after the publication of the celebrated ode annexed to his unfortunate *New Inn*, requeſting him not to leave the ſtage, as the letter-writer might alſo have learned from Langbaine, who has given Randolph's Ode at length, he naturally would read over their lines; and Randolph having written " *A gratulatory Poem to Ben Jonſon for his adopting of him to be his Son*," in which we find the following hyperbolical couplet,

" But if heaven take thee, envying us thy lyre,
'Tis to pen anthems for an angel's quire;"

he is not improperly ſtyled by the letter-writer, "Jonſon's ZANY."[1]

The four lines to which May's name is affixed, are inſcribed, "To *my worthy friend* John Ford;" and it is obſervable that a copy of verſes written by William Singleton, and prefixed to *The Lover's Melancholy*, are alſo inſcribed, "*To my worthy friend*, the author, Maſter *John Ford*." But why, we ſhall be told, might not May, as well as Mr. Singleton, addreſs Ford as his *worthy friend?* Be it ſo then; but unluckily, May, preciſely when he is ſuppoſed to have made this panegyrick upon Ford, and to have informed the publick, that, even ſuppoſing *The Lover's Melancholy* was from Shakſpeare's

"——————— *treaſury* reſt,
"That *plunderer Ben* ne'er made ſo *rich a theft*;"

unluckily, I ſay, at this very time, May was living in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with Jonſon; for to May's tranſlation of Lucan, *publiſhed in* 1630, is prefixed a commendatory poem by Jonſon,—addreſſed "To his *choſen friend*, the learned tranſlator of Lucan, *Thomas May*, Eſquire," and ſubſcribed, "*Your true friend in judgment and choiſe*, Benjamin Jonſon."

[1] Randolph's attachment to Ben Jonſon was alſo noticed in the letter printed in the preceding month, in *The General Advertiſer*, (the Theatrical Gazette of that time,) by way of prelude to Mr. Ryan's benefit. "He was, (ſays the writer,) a man of pregnant wit, gay humour, and of excellent learning; which gained him the eſteem of the town, and *particularly recommended him to Ben Jonſon*, who adopted him *one of his ſons*, and held him in equal eſteem with the ingenious Mr. Cartwright, another of the laureat's ſons."

The verſes ſubſcribed, *Thomas May*, are as follows:

" 'Tis ſaid, from Shakſpeare's *mine* your play you drew;
" What need, when Shakſpeare ſtill ſurvives in you?
" But grant it were from his *vaſt treaſury* reft,
" That *plunderer* Ben ne'er made ſo *rich a theft*."[2]

I have already obſerved, that, Randolph having written a reply to Jonſon's ode, the writer of this letter would naturally look into his works. In a poem *addreſſed to Ben Jonſon*, ſpeaking of the works of Ariſtotle, (the writer by the way, to whom that ſentence of Greek which is found in the title-page of the preſent edition was originally applied,) he has theſe lines:

" ——————— I could ſit
" Under a willow covert, and repeat
" Thoſe deep and learned lays, on every part
" Grounded in judgment, ſubtilty, and art,
" That the great tutor to the greateſt king,
" The ſhepherd of Stagira us'd to ſing;
" The ſhepherd of Stagira, *that unfolds*
" *All nature's cloſet*, ſhews what e'er it holds,
" The matter, form, ſenſe, motion, place, and meaſure,
" Of every thing contain'd in her *vaſt treaſure*."

As Shakſpeare's " *vaſt treaſury*" may have been borrowed from this writer, ſo the " *rich thefts* of

[2] *That plunderer Ben ne'er made ſo rich a theft.*] This thought appears to have been adopted from the words in which Virgil is ſaid to have replied to one who charged him with borrowing from Homer:

" Cur non illi quoque eadem furta tentarunt?"

Could the illiterate Macklin, therefore, be ſuſpected as author of the verſes imputed to him by Mr. Malone? STEEVENS.

that *plunderer* Ben" might have been ſuggeſted to Mr. M. by the following lines addreſſed by Thomas Carew "to Ben Jonſon, upon occaſion of his ode of defiance annext to his play of the *New Inn*:"

"Let them the dear expence of oil upbraid,
"Suck'd by thy watchful lamp, that hath betray'd
"To *theft* the blood of martyr'd authors, ſpilt
"Into thy ink, whilſt thou grow'ſt pale with guilt.
"Repine not at the taper's thrifty waſte,
"That ſleeks thy terſer poems; nor is haſte
"Praiſe, but excuſe; and if thou overcome
"A knotty writer, bring the *booty* home;
"Nor think it *theft*, if the *rich* ſpoils ſo torn
"From conquer'd authors, be as trophies worn."

I have traced the marked expreſſions in this tetraſtick to Randolph and Carew; they might, however, have been ſuggeſted by a book ſtill more likely to have been conſulted by the writer of it, Langbaine's *Account of the Dramatick Poets*; and particularly by that part of his work in which he ſpeaks of *Ben Jonſon's* literary *thefts*, on which I have this moment happened to caſt my eye.

"To come laſtly to *Ben Jonſon*, who, as Mr. Dryden affirms, has borrowed more from the ancients than any; I crave leave to ſay in his behalf, that our late laureat has far out-done him in *thefts*. —When Mr. Jonſon borrowed, 'twas from the *treaſury* of the Ancients, which is ſo far from any diminution of his worth, that I think it is to his honour, at leaſt-wiſe I am ſure he is juſtified by his ſon Cartwright, in the following lines:

' What though thy ſearching Muſe did rake the duſt
' Oft time, and purge old metals from their ruſt?
' Is it no labour, no art, think they, to
' Snatch ſhipwrecks from the deep, as divers do;
' And reſcue jewels from the covetous ſand,
' Making the ſeas hid *wealth* adorn the land?
' What though thy culling Muſe did *rob* the ſtore
' Of Greek and Latin gardens, to bring o'er
' Plants to thy native ſoil? their virtues were
' Improv'd far more by being planted here.—
' *Theſts* thus become juſt works; they and their grace
' Are wholly thine: thus doth the ſtamp and face
' Make that the king's that's raviſh'd from the *mine*;
' In others then 'tis ore, in thee, 'tis coin."

" On the contrary, though Mr. Dryden has likewiſe borrowed from the Greek and Latin poets,—which I purpoſely omit to tax him with, as thinking what he has taken to be lawful prize, yet I can not but obſerve withal, that he has *plunder'd* the chief Italian, Spaniſh, and French wits for forage, notwithſtanding his pretended contempt of them; and not only ſo, but even his own countrymen have been forced to pay him tribute, or, to ſay better, have not been exempt from being *pillaged*."[2]

Here we have at once—the *mine*, the *treaſury*, the *plunderer*, and the *rich theſts*, of this modern-antique compoſition.[3]

[2] *Account of the Dramatick Poets*, 8vo. 1691, pp. 145, 148, 149.

[3] Mr. Macklin tells us, that the pamphlet from which he pretends to quote, mentions, that among other depreciating language Jonſon had ſaid of Shakſpeare, that " the man had imagination and *wit* none could deny, but that they were ever guided by true judgment in the *rules* and conduct of a piece, none could with juſtice aſſert, both being ever ſervile to *raiſe the laughter of fools* and *the wonder of the ignorant*."

The laſt copy of verſes, aſcribed to Endymion Porter, are uncommonly elegant, and perhaps one

" Being guided by judgment in the conduct of a piece," is perfectly intelligible; but what are we to underſtand by *being guided by judgment in the* rules *of a piece?* However, every part of this ſentence alſo may be traced to its ſource. Mr. Pope has ſaid in his preface, that " not only the common audience had no notion of the *rules* of writing, but few of the better ſort piqued themſelves upon any great degree of knowledge or nicety that way, till Ben Jonſon getting poſſeſſion of the ſtage, brought critical learning into vogue:" and Jonſon himſelf, in his *Diſcoveries*, ſpeaking of Shakſpeare, ſays, " his *wit* was in his power, would the *rule* of it had been ſo."

In Mr Pope's Preface we are told, that " in tragedy nothing was ſo ſure to *ſurpriſe*, and create *admiration*, as the moſt ſtrange, improbable, and conſequently moſt unnatural, incidents and events.—In comedy, nothing was ſo ſure to pleaſe, as mean buffoonery, vile ribaldry, and unmannerly jeſts of *fools* and clowns."

Prefixed to Randolph's Works is a panegyrick written by Mr. Richard Weſt, from whoſe poem two lines are quoted by Langbaine, which were alſo inſerted in *The General Advertiſer* of the 5th of March, 1748, in the encomium on Randolph's plays.

In Mr. Weſt's Verſes, ſpeaking of ordinary dramatick poets, he ſays,—

" For humours to lie lieger, they are ſeen
" Oft in a tavern or a bowling green.
" They do obſerve each place and company,
" As ſtrictly as a traveller or ſpy;—
" And ſit with patience an hour by the heels,
" To learn the nonſenſe of the conſtables;
" *Such jig-like ſlim-ſlams being got, to make*
" *The rabble laugh*, and nut-cracking forſake."

Randolph is then deſcribed, and among other high praiſes, we are told,—

" There's none need fear to ſurfeit with his phraſe;
" He has no giant raptures, to *amaze*
" And torture *weak capacities with wonder*."

We have already ſeen that Mr. Macklin had been juſt peruſing

of the beſt invented fictions that can be pointed out."—"Theſe *letter-tyrant* elves" is much in the manner of the time, as is "*their pedant ſelves*," in a ſubſequent line. But how difficult is it to aſſume the manner or language of a former age, without occaſionally lapſing into thoſe of the preſent! The phraſes, "*upon the whole*," and *from college*,—

> "Indeed, ſays Tom, *upon the whole*, &c.
> "But Ben and Tom *from college*—"

have a very modern ſound, and are not, I believe, uſed by any of our old Engliſh writers.—I muſt alſo obſerve that Mr. M. found his *after-times* in the old panegyrick on Ford, which he inſerted in his firſt letter, and *Avon's ſwan* in Ben Jonſon's Verſes on Shakſpeare, prefixed to all the editions of his plays; and that the extravagant and unfounded praiſe here given to Ford, who, like our great poet, is ſaid to have been *ſent from heaven*, and the inſinuation that the *Lover's Melancholy* was "*Shakſpeare's every word*," were evidently calculated for the temporary purpoſe of aiding a benefit, and putting money into the purſe of the writer.

While, however, we tranſfer theſe elegant lines from Endymion Porter to Mr. Macklin, let us

Ben Jonſon's Epigrams. In his ſecond Epigram, which is addreſſed to his book, are theſe lines:

> "——by thy wiſer temper let men know,
> "Thou art not covetous of leaſt ſelf-fame,
> "Made from the hazard of another's ſhame:
> "Much leſs, with lewd, prophane, and beaſtly phraſe,
> "*To catch the world's looſe laughter, or vaine gaze.*"

not forget that they exhibit no common ſpecimen of an eaſy verſification and a good taſte, and that they add a new wreath to the poetical crown of this veteran comedian.

I have only to add, that John Ford and Thomas May were ſo far from being at variance with Old Ben, that in *Jonſonius Virbius*, a collection of poems on the death of Ben Jonſon, publiſhed in 1638, about ſix months after his death, there is an encomiaſtick poem by *John Ford*; and in this volume is alſo found a panegyrick by Ford's friend, George Donne, and another by *Thomas May*, who ſtyles Ben "the beſt of our Engliſh poets." On this, however, I lay no great ſtreſs, becauſe the ſame collection exhibits a poem by Jonſon's old antagoniſt, Owen Feltham: but if, after all that has been ſtated, the ſmalleſt doubt could remain concerning the ſubject of our preſent diſquiſition, I might obſerve, that Ford appears not only to have lived on amicable terms with Ben Jonſon himſelf, (at leaſt we have no proof to the contrary,) but with his ſervant, Richard Brome; to whoſe play entitled *The Northern Laſs*, which was acted by the King's Company on the 29th of July, 1629, the very year of the publication of *The Lover's Melancholy*, and of the firſt exhibition of *The New Inn*, is prefixed an high panegyrick by "the author's *very friend*, *John Ford*."

Let the preſent detection be a leſſon to mankind in matters of greater moment, and teach thoſe whom higher conſiderations do not deter from invading the rights or property of others by any kind of fiction, to abſtain from ſuch an attempt, from the *inefficacy* and *folly* of it; for the moſt plauſible

and beſt fabricated tale, if properly examined, will crumble to pieces, like "the labour'd mole," looſened from its foundation by the continued force of the ocean; while ſimple and honeſt truth, firm and ſelf-dependant, will ever maintain its ground againſt all aſſailants,—

"As rocks reſiſt the billows and the ſky."

MALONE.

"AND flies the javelin ſwifter to its mark,
"Launch'd from the vigour of a Roman arm?"[4]

If ſo, in compliance with example, and ſuppoſing Mr. Malone's motto to point at Mr. Macklin, I ſhall venture a reply in his name, and from Virgil too:—

Stat gravis Entellus, niſuque immotus eodem.

Though the Letter [See p. 188, &c. n. 1.] which gave riſe to the preceding ſtrictures (as Dr. Farmer long ago remarked) may not be entitled to

[4] Addiſon's *Cato*.

implicit confidence, I am unwilling to regard this publication as a confirmed forgery by Mr. Macklin. In my opinion, he could as readily have ſupplied a deficient chorus in a Greek tragedy, as the poem aſcribed to Endymion Porter. A vein of broad humour, and a rugged force of ſtyle, diſtinguiſh the performances of our truly reſpectable dramatick veteran; but where, among all his numerous works, ſhall we find ſuch eaſe and elegance as decorate the ſtanzas in commendation of Ford?

It would be difficult to account for Mr. Macklin's conception of the ſpecies of fraud ſo ſtrenuouſly imputed to him. Unacquainted with ancient and licenſed polemick weapons, he would ſcarce have invented new and unfair ones. Before the year 1748 no ſucceſsful impoſitions, whether grave or ludicrous, had led the way to ſuch an attempt. No *Lauder*, by a kindred proceſs, had queſtioned the originality of *Milton*; no *Rowleian* epicks, *Hardicnutian* tablets,[5] or Shakſpearian forgeries, had been applied as touchſtones to antiquarian ſagacity. If Mr. Macklin was really the fabricator of theſe diſputed authorities, he muſt be conſidered as the parent of literary impoſtures in England. He muſt have planned his work without the advantage of a model; and, reſpecting the poetry of Endymion Porter, muſt be allowed to have executed a taſk of elegance, without oſtenſible requiſites for his undertaking.—When I communicated theſe ſtanzas to Dr. Johnſon, he read them with indications of pleaſure, and inſtantly exclaimed—"The lines,

[5] See the *Gentleman's* and *European Magazine* for March and April, 1790.

ſir, are evidently the product of a man of faſhion.[6] Were our friend Beauclerk[7] engaged to furniſh a poetick trifle, he would write juſt ſuch verſes as theſe."

That no pamphlet, however, with the title already mentioned by Mr. Malone, has ever appeared, is too much to be granted without ſome degree of heſitation. Muſt no ancient ſatirical and poetical pieces be allowed to exiſt, except ſuch as he and I have unkennelled by induſtry or advertiſement? Till the earlieſt *Taming of a Shrew* was met with, Mr. Pope's quotations from it were ſuſpected; for ſome of the lines, as printed by him, diſplayed more than a ſingle deviation from the eſtabliſhed phraſeology of their age; and yet, on the whole, we are bound to acknowledge the genuineneſs of his extracts from the rude original of Shakſpeare's comedy.

The rarity of particular books as well as pamphlets, has been occaſioned by obvious circumſtances. Sometimes a fire has almoſt deſtroyed an unpubliſhed work. At other times, a threat has ſuppreſſed an invective, or a bribe has ſtifled an accuſation. It were no taſk of difficulty to enumerate tracts, of each of which but a ſingle copy has been diſcovered.

I readily allow, and in their utmoſt extent, ſuch departures from the acknowledged truth of dramatick hiſtory, as are pointed out by Mr. Malone with his accuſtomed accuracy and preciſion. But

[6] Such undoubtedly was the character of Endymion Porter, who was a Gentleman of his Majeſty's Bedchamber.

[7] The late Honourable Topham Beauclerk.

he has not proved[8] that thoſe very defects might not have originated from the pamphlet ſuppoſed to have furniſhed Mr. Macklin with materials for his letter. Does it follow that the pamphleteer himſelf muſt have been qualified for his taſk? Might he not rather have been ſome inaccurate hireling, who tacked together, for purpoſes now unknown, the disjointed and fallacious ſcraps of literary intelligence which every theatre uſually ſupplies?

Let us likewiſe inquire, whether ſuch extracts from an antiquated pamphlet as are haſtily made by a perſon unſkilled in argument and compoſition, may not exhibit blunders and contradictions which had no place in the work from whence his *notitiæ* were derived. By injudicious retrenchments, there-

[8] I know not from what cauſe it has ariſen, but I think I have obſerved a more than common degree of inaccuracy in facts and dates relative to the ſtage, as often as they become objects for the memory to exerciſe itſelf upon. No concluſive arguments, I am ſure, can be drawn from the falſehoods or miſtakes in the piece under conſideration, to prove the non-exiſtence of it. Immediately on the death of Mr. Quin in 1766, a pamphlet was publiſhed profeſſing to be an account of his Life, in which the fact of his having killed a brother actor was related; but ſo related, that no one circumſtance belonging to it could be depended on, except that a man was killed. Neither the time when the accident happened, the place where, the cauſe of the quarrel, the progreſs of it, or even the name or identity of the perſon, were ſtated agreeable to truth; and all theſe fables were impoſed on the publick at a time when many people were living, who could have contradicted them from their own perſonal knowledge. To apply this to the preſent caſe: ſuppoſe at the diſtance of more than a century, one ſingle copy only of this Life (no improbable ſuppoſition) ſhould remain, and after being quoted ſhould be loſt; the facts which it contains might be demonſtrated to be untrue, but the non-exiſtence of the work referred to, ſurely would not thereby be eſtabliſhed.

Revs.

fore, of the intelligence Mr. Macklin adopted, and a heterogeneous mixture of his own conceptions, he may have perplexed his narrative ſo effectually, that, without reference to his original document, the truths in queſtion muſt eſcape the reach of human inquiry:

" ——————— the dram of baſe
" Doth all the noble ſubſtance often dout."

In juſtice to Mr. Macklin and myſelf, I muſt add, that in 1777, when he firſt related the hiſtory of his loſt pamphlet, he ſubjoined the following remarkable circumſtance, which could not well have been invented on a ſudden for the purpoſes of deceit.—" The want of this publication (ſays he) I do not ſo much lament, as the loſs of a ſpeech on the Habeas Corpus by Sir J. Elliot, which, (with ſeveral other tracts printed about the ſame time,) was in the ſame quarto volume."—Every collector of fugitive publications muſt know how uſual it is for coeval articles, however miſcellaneous, to be bound together. This circumſtance, in my judgment, adds no ſmall probability to the narrative in which Mr. Macklin ſtill perſiſts; for the ſpeech to which he alluded muſt have been publiſhed in or about the very year that produced " Old Ben's Light Heart" &c. provided a pamphlet bearing that title was ever iſſued from the preſs.

It has been by no means my deſire to controvert the ſentiments of Mr. Malone, any further than was needful toward my own apology as the firſt republiſher of Mr. Macklin's production. Mr. Malone's ingenuity in ſupport of his poſition,

demands an acknowledgement which is cheerfully beſtowed; and yet, conſidering the labour he has expended on ſo ſlight a ſubject, I cannot help comparing him to one who brings a ſledge hammer for the demolition of a houſe of cards.

STEEVENS.

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